Daily Report

East Europe

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Bush's Anti-Drug Speech, Reaction Reviewed

AU1209085089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 89 p 5

[Yoan Mateev report: "Danger No. 1"]

[Text] Washington, 6 September—To the rest of the world it may seem extravagant and exaggerated, however, the fact that President George Bush dedicated his first televised meeting with his compatriots to the abuse and trafficking of drugs is totally justified and imperative against the background of the present U.S. reality. The President announced a broad campaign related to the struggle against the No. 1 domestic danger, as the problem of drug abuse already is called here.

George Bush announced that the U.S. Administration will strengthen control outside the country's borders, increase the vigilance of the law and order organs, intensify the strictness of the laws and their application, and pay attention to treating drug addicts and developing preventive work in society, especially in the schools. More than $8 billion will be allocated for this purpose. The struggle will be activated and part of the resources will be invested in special programs for assisting the governments of drug-producing countries.

Already, the first television commentaries yesterday, and press articles today voiced disappointment. Criticism was expressed for repeating many of the premises and ideas repeatedly presented in the past by the predecessors of the present inhabitant of the White House. The critics point out that the means are inadequate against the background of the peril, and recalled that the development of the B-2 bomber alone annually requires $8 billion. Speaking on behalf of the Democratic minority in the Congress, Senator Joseph Biden declared immediately after the speech that his party will not oppose the new plan, however, it does not contain, but merely expands, rather modestly, certain measures, which are already being applied without significant success. "We pay annually $300 billion to the Pentagon for a war, that we admit we will not wage, yet allocate a trifling amount for a war we already are waging and losing," Biden pointed out.

The criticism in some of today's commentaries is even more explicit. It is pointed out that according to the plan, up to 70 percent of the allocated means will be used for the construction of new prisons and enhancing the effectiveness of the police and courts, while the reasons behind of the development of drug abuse—society's social sores; unequal opportunities, especially among the young; difficult conditions for the poor; degradation of moral values; and deterioration of the quality of living in the big cities, remain for time being outside the main battlefield on which the war against the danger No. 1 is being waged.

Muslim Family Sends 'Open Letter' to Turks

AU1109171189

[Editorial report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 8 September on page 3 carries a 800-word "open letter from Nadezhda and Boris Yosifov to the president and premier of the Republic of Turkey," entitled "Return Our Daughter!" In an editorial introduction, correspondent Andrey Andreev explains that "several families, whose daughters disappeared several hours before heading back to Bulgaria, have come to the Svilengrad press center." He says that "kidnapping and raping of girls who went to Turkey with their parents have become a frequent phenomenon," and points out that the Turkish newspapers "have carried shocking facts about the destiny of kidnapped Bulgarian girls. They tell about the Mafia, which controls this activity, and the bordellos, frequented even by ministers."

The letter addressed to Kenan Evren and Turgut Ozal, accuses the Turkish authorities of deceiving Bulgarian Muslims, describes the disappointment of the Yosifov family with life in Turkey, and demands the "return our beautiful daughter Nina, aged 19," who allegedly "was kidnapped on the day of our return to Bulgaria." The parents also assert that "something like this could never happen in Bulgaria!"

Dzhurov, Other Officials Attend Army Meeting

AU1109145789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by Colonel Damyan Atanasov and Major Evgeni Genov: "In Our Thoughts, Hearts, and Deeds"]

[Excerpts] Celebrating 9 September is a holy and joyful tradition, because on that day, 45 years ago our people's long-lasting struggles for freedom and human rights, conducted under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], ended in triumph, and the beginning of a profound turning point in Bulgaria's history and fate was made. [passage omitted] On 7 September at Sofia's Central Army Club hundreds of Sofia garrison personnel came to a festive meeting organized by the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army to mark the 45th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee "Social and National Security" Department; Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; deputy ministers, generals, officers of the Bulgarian People's Army; and citizens.

Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces at the Bulgarian People's Army and military attaches of the socialist countries, accredited in Sofia, also attended the meeting.

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, read a speech on the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The speaker pointed out that the victory of the 9 September Revolution marked the beginning of our country's new international relations. Strengthening comprehensive friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries is the basic direction of our foreign policy activity. Fraternal and indestructible Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, behested by Georgi Dimitrov as a vital necessity and as the sun and water for every living creature, is the main elements of our foreign policy.

In accordance with the requirements of the new political thinking Bulgaria is conducting a dynamic international activity, aimed at achieving lasting peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Simultaneously, our country blocks and will block any attempts such as the actions of the leading circles of the Republic of Turkey, aimed against the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Speculating with the issue of Bulgarian Muslims they insidiously manipulate a part of the Bulgarian population and implant hatred among people who have the same generic root. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will not allow any activity aimed against the calm and security in the country, or attempts to undermine the unity and cohesion of our socialist nation. [passage omitted]

At the same time that peaceful tendencies are being asserted in the world, we must not forget that the adherents of war have not relinquished the struggle for military superiority. The process of detente has not become an irreversible process, and a fundamental turning point in disarmament has not been achieved. Therefore, high vigilance and constant readiness to prevent any aggression are required from the military.

On the day of the great anniversary we are proud to declare that under the constant BCP care our army turned into a modern armed force, capable of defending the Bulgarian people's peaceful work. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Hails 9 Sep Anniversary

AU1109151389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 p 1

["Order of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on the 45th anniversary of the 9 September Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria]

[Text] Comrade Officers, Generals, and Admirals,

Comrade Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants, and Petty Officers,

Comrade Workers, Technicians, Engineers, and Employees of the military enterprises and departments,

Soldiers of the Reserve Forces,

Our people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army greet the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria with pride and satisfaction at the achievements during the years of people's government.

The decisions of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the subsequent plenums, and the BCP National Conference are being implemented in life. Our party's July Concept on restructuring our society, renewing socialism, and developing all its possibilities and advantages is more and more strongly entering the awareness of all working people and every Bulgarian, and is becoming a powerful stimulus for practical deeds.

The first successes of economic restructuring and the care for the further and dynamic development of the country's production capacities are evident. They are reflected in the results achieved during the years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan period. These achievements emerge more and more strongly on the eve of the anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution. The labor collectives are showing great political maturity and patriotism in fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1989 plan.

The soldiers and commanders are selflessly working to raise our troops' training and combat readiness to a new level. The achievements of scientific-technical progress are being introduced in a broader and more successful fashion.

The military workers and employees, and the soldiers who have been sent to work in the national economy are implementing their tasks with dignity.

The personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army, supporting without reservation the active and purposeful actions of the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces throughout the world, clearly understand their lofty responsibility to defend the cause of peace and socialism. In the still complicated military-political situation in the world and the Balkans, and in a uniform formation with the valiant Soviet Army and the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member states, they are always ready to defeat any aggressor who attempts to violate our sacred borders.

Comrade Soldiers and Commanders,

Comrade Military Workers and Employees,

Soldiers of the Reserve Forces,

I most cordially greet you on the 45th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution.

I wish you and your families good health and new successes in your highly noble and responsible activity for constructing and defending our socialist motherland!

To mark the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria

I Order:

1. Festive illuminations are to be conducted in our capital on 9 September 1989, at the beginning of the festive parade, and 20 artillery salvos are to be fired.

2. Festive illuminations are to be conducted in Sofia, Plovdiv, Sliven, and Varna.

3. Long live throughout the centuries the cause of the 9 September socialist revolution!

Long live the BCP—organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Glory to the USSR and its valiant Armed Forces!

Long live the People's Republic of Bulgaria—our dear motherland!

Army General Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-9 Sep

AU1009154589

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 2 September through 1500 GMT on 9 September report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on 4 September in Sofia received Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Committee on Planning. (Sofia BTA in English 1246 GMT 4 Sep 89) On 6 September at Varna airport Todor Zhivkov greeted the Amir of Kuwait, who came on a brief and working visit to Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Sep 89) On 6 September Zhivkov had talks with the Amir of Kuwait and saw him off at the Varna airport. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 89) On 8 September in Sofia Todor Zhivkov "and other party and state leaders" took part in the public meeting at Georgi Kirkov Hall, which marked Bulgaria's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Sep 89) On 9 September Todor Zhivkov "and other party and state leaders," attended the people's manifestation as Sofia 9 September Square, which marked Bulgaria's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 9 Sep 89) On 8 September Todor Zhivkov received the ambassadors of Burundi, Zambia, Togo and Tanzania who presented their credentials. (Sofia BTA English 2045 GMT 8 Sep 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 5 September in Sofia chaired a meeting on the progress of harvesting. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 89) On 5 September Atanasov spoke at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, which dealt with plan implementation and preparation of an environment protection bill. (Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 5 Sep 89)

Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 8 September in Lovech took part in a meeting of former political prisoners, marking Bulgaria's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 8 Sep 89)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, received on an unspecified day the delegation of the Lao Front for National Reconstruction. (Sofia BTA in English 2122 GMT 4 Sep 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, on 3 September departed for the Belgrade non-aligned countries' conference. (Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 3 Sep 89) On 6 September Mladenov returned from the Belgrade nonaligned countries' conference. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary on 8 September in Sofia read the main speech at the public meeting at Georgi Kirkov Hall, which marked Bulgaria's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Sep 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned apparently on 4 September from the GDR, where he visited in connection with the Leipzig Fair. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 89) On 6 September Petko Danchev was present at Varna airport, when Todor Zhivkov greeted the Amir of Kuwait. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Sep 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, on 4 September attended the meeting between Todor Zhivkov and USSR Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov. (Sofia BTA in English 1246 GMT 4 Sep 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science and education, on 7 September in Sofia attended a reception at the Brazilian Embassy on the country's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 7 Sep 89).

Hungarian Decision 'Violation' of Agreement

LD1109230489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] The Hungarian Government has decided unilaterally to temporarily suspend the validity of the relevant items of the 1969 intergovernmental agreement between Hungary and the GDR and allowed GDR citizens staying illegally in Hungary to travel to countries willing to accept them. Tomas Borec, our correspondent, has sent us some details from behind-the-scene of the entire action:

[Begin Borec recording in Slovak] From the window of my flat in Budapest I was able to observe an unusual lot of goings on in the temporary camp for refugees. Cars bearing the Maltese cross and West German license plates were coming in and going out making it apparent that they already knew about the decision. Hungarian railways have prepared nine trains to go from Budapest directly to the FRG. Two Austrian trains were waiting for the refugees at dawn this morning at the railway station at the village of Zanka and in Budapest. FRG buses, too, have been arriving to collect them while others are traveling in their own cars.

The Bonn correspondent from Hungarian radio reported a unique record: The first GDR citizen appeared at the FRG border crossing point as Passau as early as 0305 hours this morning, having thus covered the distance of 400 km from the camp at Zanka in Hungary in 2 and ½ hours. The correspondent also remarked that it is true that he did not travel in a Trabant car but in a Toyota sport car.

Many people in Hungary have asked themselves the question why GDR citizens are fleeing to the West in cars which an average Hungarian would not be able to save enough for throughout his whole life.

It is not the Hungarian Government's place to assess the causes of the problem, says the statement issued on the measures. One can only agree with this. However, what about if one draws parallels: the suspension of the construction of the hydroelectric project at Nagymaros—the violation of an international agreement with the CSSR; the suspension of the validity of the paragraphs concerning the exit of GDR citizens from Hungary to a third country—the violation of an international agreement with the GDR.

When one hears these parallel facts a thought comes to mind: if we get accustomed to violations of international agreements, if we see it merely as a cavalier offense, will we not have to worry one day about the fate of such important international agreements as the Warsaw Pact or CEMA? For, after all, the popular wisdom that has endured for centuries warns that a small trickle can turn into a flood. [end recording]

[Presenter] Press agencies have been devoting attention to the whole issue, quoting also from the speech made by the FRG chancellor at the Christian Democratic Union Congress. In the speech, although he welcomed the refugees from the GDR who have been arriving via Hungary, Kohl at the same time spoke critically about attempts to induce GDR citizens to such action. Thus the chancellor admitted indirectly that certain circles in the FRG have been doing this. What is the attitude of the GDR? Slavomir Malickaj, our Berlin correspondent, reports:

[Begin Malickaj recording in Slovak] All today's editions of the GDR dailies point out the fact that by its decision yesterday Hungary has violated its international agreement with the GDR. In 1969 it bound itself not to allow GDR citizens to travel to Western countries without GDR consent. The fact that the Hungarian representatives by their latest step have supported an action that has been prepared in the FRG over a long period of time, is also noted in the GDR. As the recent statement issued by the GDR Foreign Ministry stated, official representatives from the FRG and the country's media have also joined in this campaign, and as the mass exit of GDR citizens across Austria's border at the end of August during what was called the Pan-European picnic showed, various revanchist groups are also involved in the organization of it. The aim is to discredit the GDR a few days before the 40th anniversary of its foundation. [end recording]

Move Deemed 'Dangerous Precedent'

LD1209085989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2230 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It has been announced officially in Hungary in regard to the measures adopted that assessment of the causes of the problems is not a matter for the Hungarian Government. One can only agree with this but not with violations of international agreements as has been the case in this instance for this could give rise to a dangerous precedent on the basis of which other, important international agreements could become worthless pieces of paper.

'Crucial Phase' of GDR Refugee Talks To Begin

LD1209104489 Hamburg DPA in German 1025 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The apparently crucial phase of the negotiations on the future fate of the about 400 GDR refugees in the Federal Republic's embassy began in Prague at midday on Tuesday. Walter Priesnitz, secretary of state at the Federal ministry of Intra-German Relations, has arrived in Prague together with East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel for talks with each of the refugees.

The first talks are not expected to take place until this afternoon since first of all the situation of the refugees in the Lobkowize Palace and the embassy garden will have to be assessed. This assessment will be headed by Ambassador Hermann Huber.

FRG Media Campaign Seeks To 'Bury' GDR

AU1109135989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Sep 89 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "A Hysterical Campaign"]

[Text] The West German media are escalating their campaign against the GDR with regard to the GDR citizens staying at FRG representative missions. They stop at nothing to discredit and denounce the GDR, to spread gross accusations against it and false information about it. What is surprising is that the leading representatives of the FRG have also become involved in this hysterical campaign, the purpose of which is to cover up who is really responsible for the situation at West German Embassies and who is luring GDR citizens there.

The guilt and bad conscience of the West German political circles is also confirmed by their indignation when someone in the FRG disagrees with the West German course of action. Ingrid Sacks from Stuttgart, for instance, is now exposed to pressure and persecution because she dared to disagree with the picture of the GDR and its emigres being painted in West Germany. I. Sacks wrote a letter to the editors of the daily FREIE PRESSE in Zwickau (GDR), who published the letter. The order to attack was issued by the tabloid BILD, which published plenty of lies about the Sacks family. For almost a week Mrs. Sacks has not left her home because she has even received threats of assassination. It does not do a country like the FRG, in which there is so much talk about the freedom of speech, credit when practices such as those applied in the case of I. Sacks are tolerated or when there is a ban on the employment of communists in the public domain.

The campaign shows that the illegal emigration of GDR citizens, or their attempts to emigrate illegally, are being misused by West German political circles to "bury" the GDR as a state and thus again raised the question of uniting the two German states according to Bonn's recipe. This pretext is used for ignoring the results of World War II and valid international agreements and treaties. And, self-evidently, it is also used to whip up strong emotions among the population of the two German states. However, these attempts cannot lead to the goals Bonn has set itself. Common sense requires keeping one's feet firmly on the ground.

Adamec Interviewed on Romania Visit

AU0809142089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Sep 89 pp 1,7

[Michal Kuzmiak report: "Conclusion of the Czechoslovak- Romanian Talks"]

[Text] At the end of his visit to Romania, Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists.

In his introduction, he praised the results of the Czechoslovak- Romanian talks and stressed that both sides have an interest in the further development of economic cooperation and in increasing the volume of the mutual exchange of goods. He said that in the very near future a joint Czechoslovak-Romanian government commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation will be convened. At its session the plan for collaboration in 1990 should be concretized and later, at the very latest, by the middle of next year, all the suggestions for cooperation in the years 1991-95 should also be concretized.

L. Adamec further said that during the talks he pointed out to Constantin Dascalescu, the Romanian premier, some of the problems which Czechoslovak tourists come up against during their visits to Romania. These involve, in particular, long waiting periods at the Romanian border and problems with gasoline and services. He said that the Romanian side took note of these comments and promised to look into the above-mentioned problems and to adopt measures to ensure that they will not be repeated in the future.

The Czechoslovak premier emphasized that Czechoslovakia has an interest in developing concrete cooperation and direct production sharing between Czechoslovak and Romanian enterprises. He talked positively about Romanian experiences with the purchase of some foreign licenses and about the results of cooperation between several Romanian and American or Japanese firms. Nothing is preventing us, stressed L. Adamec, from entering some joint Czechoslovak-Romanian products onto third markets and he added that it is possible to achieve success through our joint forces. At the same time, he expressed his support for concluding direct ties between both countries' enterprises.

In conclusion, L. Adamec said that his meeting with the most senior Romanian party and state representative, Nicolae Ceausescu, was highlighted by an atmosphere of friendship and great openness.

A useful exchange of views on some international problems took place and mutual information was exchanged on the preparations for both communist parties' upcoming congresses; the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress and the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress.

Soviet Germans View Past, Seek Autonomy

AU0909200589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with Rudolf Erhardt, editor of the Soviet daily, ROTE FAHNE, by Frantisek Clinger: "We Are Citizens of the Country of the Soviets"—date and place not given]

[Text] Relations between the peoples and nationalities in the Soviet Union are today very interesting. Considerable extremes are expressed in them but facts have also come to light over which a person who is unacquainted with them can only shake his head. How could all these

things have happened? I even experienced similar feelings during my interview with Comrade Rudolf Erhardt. He is a German and a citizen of the Soviet Union. He edits the daily newspaper, ROTE FAHNE, in the city of Slavgorod in the Altay region of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The paper was founded on 15 June 1957 and it has a print run of 3,000 copies. It is intended for Soviet Germans in the Altay region.

[Clinger] How many Germans live in the USSR?

[Erhardt] According to the census that was carried out at the end of the 1970's, there are more than 2 million of them. They live in all republics of the union, mostly in Kazachstan where there are 1 million and in the Russian Federation where there are 780,000.

[Cinger] How many newspapers and magazines are published in German?

[Erhardt] Three newspapers. Besides ROTE FAHNE, there is FREUNDSCHAFT in Kazachstan and NEUES LEBEN in Moscow. One magazine is published, Moscow's HEIMATLICHE WEITEN.

[Cinger] What issues do you deal with in the daily ROTE FAHNE?

[Erhardt] We are interested in the everyday lives of ethnic German citizens. First and foremost, in language issues, customs, and folk traditions. Today we write a lot about the history of Germans in the Soviet Union and we are trying to win over public opinion to establish our autonomy. Soviet Germans have not been spoken about for many years. Now we want to provide an opening for historical justice.

[Cinger] How do Germans come to be in the Soviet Union?

[Erhardt] The first Germans appeared on the Volga in 1764 at the invitation of Catherine II. Within 5 years there were already 30,000 of them. Relocation lasted about 100 years, at that time Germans settled on the Volga, in the Caucasus, in the Crimea, and in Georgia. In the 20th century they settled in Western Siberia. At the beginning of the Soviet Government, more than 500 villages in Siberia were completely German.

[Cinger] What about autonomy?

[Erhardt] Autonomy for Soviet Germans was declared in 1918 and was signed by V. I. Lenin. In 1924 the original autonomous region was changed into the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans. During the 1930's the region acquired an economic, cultural, and social importance. There were no illiterate people in it. Before the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War there were five universities here, 11 secondary technical schools, 178 general secondary schools, and 3 theaters. Books were published by the German state publishing house. Twenty-nine newspapers were published here and of these, 21 were in German. The Republic was abolished on the basis of a decision made by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 28 August 1941. All Germans were denounced as spies and subversionists and were resettled on the other side of the Urals, in Siberia. The men were sent to work in labor camps, in military enterprises, and in bridge construction. The women and children began to live in an unknown environment. It was a tragedy for our nation.

[Cinger] What about today? How do you live?

[Erhardt] Germans have shown by their work that they are patriots of their country, the Soviet Union. They are good farmers and good workers. Kolchozes in the Altay region achieve the best results. For instance, there is a kolchoz called 30 Years of Kazachstan where the overwhelming majority of workers are German. This kolchoz is well known for its production and for the social care it provides for its employees. They even have a small zoo here. The German folklore group, the E. Thalmann group, is well known throughout the USSR and abroad. Ten Germans are USSR people's deputies and three members of today's Supreme Soviet are German.

[Cinger] So, a lot has changed.

[Erhardt] A lot has changed but not everything that is necessary. In 1941 Soviet Germans were unjustifiably denounced, that has been proven. The USSR Supreme Soviet's resolution of 29 August 1964 rehabilitated us, Germans, in the political sense. The accusation was retracted but the verdict remained. The issue of the re-founding of the republic has not been resolved. The decision, then, was half hearted. For many years afterwards nothing was said about Soviet Germans. Then, last year, the first articles appeared in newspapers and magazines, including PRAVDA. This year a society called Revival was founded. Its aim is clear—the return of autonomy and the development of language and culture. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies has set up a commission which is to look into this issue and, as has been said, is to deal with the task of the re-founding of the republic of Soviet Germans.

[Cinger] Thank you for the interview.

Jakes Hosts Seychelles President

LD0909052189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] France Albert Rene, general secretary of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front [SPPF] and president of the Seychelles Republic, arrived today on an unofficial working visit to our republic at the invitation of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee. During their meeting the two party leaders briefed one another in detail about the situation in Europe and the Indian Ocean area, and about the two parties' and countries' activities aimed at insuring peaceful development in those regions. They agreed in noting the growing positive

role of the Nonaligned Movement in international relations, and stressed the need for ever closer cooperation between the socialist and developing countries.

Milos Jakes and France Albert Rene agreed in noting the rising level of relations between the two parties and countries, and proposed new forms and methods of inter-party cooperation, which they confirmed by signing an agreement on friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the SPPF.

Milos Jakes gave a working dinner in honor of his guest.

SRV Dissatisfied With Workers Agreement

AU0509082389

[Editorial report] Under the headline "Vietnam on the Path of Renewal," Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 September on page 2 carries a 600-word Vit Suchy report on a news conference given by Nguyen Phu Soai, SRV ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 31 August, on the eve of his country's national day. The report mentions that "the Vietnamese ambassador pointed out that there exist some problems in our cooperation, especially in the sphere of manpower. In his opinion, it is within the powers of the responsible CSSR and SRV bodies to find such a joint solution as would eliminate the shortcomings contained in the currently valid agreement concerning this sector."

Fojtik, Lenart, Urban Meet USIA Chief

LD1209050389 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 11 (CTK)—A meeting between Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium members and Central Committee Secretaries Jan Fojtik and Jozef Lenart and head of the U.S. Information Agency [USIA] Bruce Gelb took place here today.

The two sides expressed their interest in the development of economic, scientific-technological and cultural cooperation. In this connection they stressed the need for strengthening confidence and mutual understanding.

The removal of obstacles unfavourably influencing all-round cooperation between the two countries, e.g. the granting of the most favoured nations status to Czechoslovakia, is one of the preconditions for the further development of bilateral contacts. Bruce Gelb expressed the conviction that the normalization of relations between the two countries cannot take place without the gradual removal of still existing barriers. It was stated at the talks that an important role will be played by dialogue, the exchange of opinions in such a way as is envisaged for instance by the second Czechoslovak-U.S. round-table conference on economic and political relations which is to take place here in the coming days.

The same day, Bruce Gelb was received by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban. In the course of extensive and open talks, Bohumil Urban informed the U.S. guest of the basic principles of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia and the gradual goals of the Czechoslovak Government's economic policy in this sphere.

The two politicians agreed that there are realistic possibilities of trade and other cooperation and voiced bilateral interest in making use of the experience of U.S. business circles in the management of Czechoslovak state enterprises.

Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek and U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple-Black were also present.

Bruce Gelb and Shirley Temple-Black visited the Barrandov film studios here today.

After inspecting the studios, the two U.S. guests were received by leading representatives of Czechoslovak film headed by general director of the Barrandov film studios Tugan Vesely.

Former CPCZ Head Dubcek on Reform

AU1109161989 Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Sep 89 pp 52-53

[Article by the former head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek: "Czechoslovak Apartheid"]

[Text] The public in the CSSR welcomes the new positions of our neighbors. I regard them as a path that leads toward the consolidation of good-neighborly relations. The CSSR's current protests are unfounded. Hungary and Poland are distancing themselves from their military interventions in the CSSR, and describe these as incorrect decisions by the representatives of their countries in August 1968. On the contrary, it is an intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and Poland when the CSSR Government now hampers these countries in their reassessment of this episode of their own history, because today they refuse to participate in suppressing the reform and renewal of socialism in our home country.

The current attitude of those who are in power in the CSSR, following the 21st anniversary of the use of military force, gives rise to the impression that certain circles want to maintain the situation of crisis for the benefit of their personal interests, and that the tensions serve to maintain old concepts and positions. How should one interpret the following declaration of CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes' at the ceremony marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising on 29 August 1989: "The program of reconstruction and democratization counts on everybody who is willing to contribute courageously to this great work. There are no restrictions as to who can participate in it." During the past 21 years and during the past 5 years of Soviet reconstruction, one did not get near to the people, not even to the 500,000 reform socialists who today constitute a "party of the excluded." One does not seek contact with the action committees, from Charter 77 to the

religious movements, which have emerged as a consequence of 20 years' of a policy of normalization. (passage omitted—the editors)

It is logical that not everybody supports socialism, particularly after it has been deformed in such a way. There are arguments as to what kind of socialism one should support. What remains of the idea of power to the people? Who and what stands outside socialism? My answer is: Today the category of citizens that stand "outside of socialism" includes everyone from the first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Dubcek, and the head of the government, Cernik, to Charter 77, and the other action committees. In other words, it includes all those who reject the military intervention, the dissolution of the 1968 "program of action," the 20 years of the policy of normalization, and the deformed "preaching."

How else could it be that great numbers of our people with an enormous intellectual capacity are denied the right to exercise their professions and are affected by Czechoslovak apartheid? How could it happen that Milan Huebl, the former rector of the political college and member of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1968, was imprisoned for 5 years, as were many other political representatives? How is it possible that today Professor Miroslaw Kusy, a former member of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, and other critics are held in detention pending trial? How else could it be that it is no longer possible to enter into dialogue with Milos Hajek, who was sentenced to death during the war, and who was director of the Institute of the History of Socialism in 1968, and who is today chairman of the socialist club "Renewal?" How come that almost the entire CPCZ Central Committee of 1968, the government and the parliamentary deputies, the representatives of the other political parties, and of the trade unions have fallen from grace? How could it be that the 1968 economic reform was discarded and that such eminent scientists as Ota Sik, Vladimir Kadlec, and many others have been denied the right to work in their fields? Many exponents of reform socialism were declared enemies, others were forced to leave their home country. All this has meant heavy losses, which numerically weak peoples cannot afford. (passage omitted—the editors)

By way of conclusion I would like to express my view concerning the long-lasting crisis of socialist ideas and of practice in those countries that have embarked on the road of socialism. In this context, I would also like to point out the reason for the military intervention in the CSSR 21 years ago. First of all, one has to realize that there have been two tendencies: The movement of renewal, which has been characterized by Khrushchev's stance against Stalinism, and the antireformist, conservative trends, which are typical of the neo-Stalinism of the Brezhnev era and the ideologist Suslov. (passage omitted—the editors)

From this point of view, one has to examine what trend and what political forces supported the military intervention against the CSSR 21 years ago, and what forces suppressed it. The answer is clear: There was support for the dogmatic stereotyping which characterized the intervening countries at that time. This is why the "program of action" and the entire economic reform were abolished, and the process of democratization in the CPCZ and within society at large was stopped. The crisis of socialism was aggravated in the entire socialist community by the 20 years of stagnation and this has done enormous material damage to the people and has greatly demoralized them. This is the reason why the current process of restructuring in the USSR, Hungary, Poland, and other countries is so complicated and difficult. These problems are not a consequence of restructuring, but—on the contrary—a consequence of the many different deformations and the arbitrariness of former times. They reflect the isolation from life that has developed in Europe and the world.

As a former representative and supporter of reform socialism, I would like to add that, despite what I have said before—I do not consider reasonable those extreme positions that base their program primarily on anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and that ignore those socialist reform tendencies which we are witnessing and in which we are taking part today. Even the entire Western capitalist world underwent a long development of reform, until it acquired its current form.

In view of the current reforms in the socialist countries, one should not repeat the mistake of our classic authors, who saw no possibility of reforming capitalism. The program of antisocialism is guided by confrontation, and is therefore unfavorable for the people. The coexistence of differing systems within the reform movement can and should narrow the gap separating the peoples, states, and—if you want—even the systems. This will be achieved once both extremes start out from what brings the peoples and states of this planet closer together, and not from what continues to divide them to this day. Thus, let us all work for the well-being of the people of our common planet, earth.

Issue of Refugees Termed 'Provocation'

LD1109170789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1545 GMT 11 Sep 89

["Provocation Against the GDR Organized with Military Precision—Ice-cold Trade with GDR Citizens—Pieces of Silver for Hungary"; ADN heading: by ADN correspondent Horst Schaefer]

[Text] Passau (ADN)—What happened late last night in reception camps in the Bavarian border area between Freilassing and Passau was a single confirmation of how the illegal action in the dead of night to woo away GDR citizens in Hungary was prepared with military precision. Bavarian government departments said that they prepared systematically for a long time for "D-Day" in cooperation with the various different federal authorities. The "operational plans" for this were complete and ready. On Monday, entire battalions of Western reporters and camera crews were part of the scenario to publically sensationalize the serious provocation against the GDR.

A "special unit" for "D-day," which according to its own information met "round the clock," was set up at the Federal Border Protection Command South under the leadership of senior officials from the Bonn Interior Ministry. The Federal Border Protection also took over the "supervision" of the camps, including the barracks. The camp administration consists in each case of a representative from the Federal Interior Ministry and an officer from the Federal Border Protection.

In view of the hysterical racket concerning the so-called refugees, signs of rejection and even bitterness have increased among the population of Bavaria. In the border region, groups of citizens told journalists again and again of their outrage over the hypocrisy linked with this campaign. They stressed that the motives for this action had nothing to do with humanity and love for one's neighbor, on the contrary it was an ice-cold political move. Many of the GDR citizens affected will very soon be painfully aware of the profound contrast between the illusions stirred up unscrupulously and the realities of life in the FRG.

One FRG newspaper quoted citizens from Passau as saying that this refugee story is being used to cover up much which is wrong in the country here. According to this report, one female worker said that her boss is indeed "totally in favor of this," but he also hopes to get "cheap labor." The DEGGENDORFER ZEITUNG answered the question whether those who have left the GDR will be "really welcome" in the FRG with the remark: the majority of people are clearly grumbling. The former GDR citizens "must count on a frosty reception here."

Two taxi drivers at Freilassing railway station, a post office clerk in Vilshofen near the tent camp set up there, a retired couple on their Sunday walk in Hengersbach, which is also intended as a reception camp, agreed: A dirty game is being played with human beings here. There is more work over there than here in the FRG. Many fear that the unemployment situation in the FRG will deteriorate further. Further reference was made to the statement from the Vienna Caritas [charitable association] director, Dr Schuler, according to which the concept of refugees in the sense of the Geneva convention in no way applies to the emigrants. There is neither persecution nor war, want or other criteria threatening life and existence.

As early as the first day of their stay in the reception camps, including Trostberg, Deggendorf near Regensburg, Vilshofen and Passau, disillusionment set in amongst those GDR citizens who have been wooed away—in particularly regarding their prospects in the employment and housing markets. In most of the talks which the authorities' employees held with them, no promises were made. They learned from the TROSTBERGER TAGBLATT, that the "generous" offers of a room or even an appartment which have been repeatedly propagated in the press over the past few days, are often linked with unreasonable conditions. In the Bezirk area employment office, to which Trostberg belongs, furthermore, a total of 3,620 FRG citizens are registered as unemployed. In the MITTELBAYERISCHE ZEITUNG in Regensburg, the former GDR citizen Kerstin Scheuner told of her experiences: Her landlord has given her notice from 30 September, because she temporarily has relatives staying in her flat.

FRG politicians are already making blatantly obvious the massive economic and sociopolitical interests, calculated to the last pfennig, behind the long-term stage-managed trafficking in human beings. The Bonn newspaper GENERALANZEIGER described the newly arrived labor force as "economic growth potential" for the FRG, which could lessen the concerns expressed by labor market politicians about the long-term safety of pensions in view of the shrinking and aging FRG population. Parliamentary State Secretary Waffenschmidt spoke in the same context of an "elixir of life for the FRG."

In interviews with Bonn politicians, FRG journalists repeatedly mentioned on Sunday and Monday that they received information that Hungary was receiving payments from within the FRG for its actions. "The employers are rubbing their hands in glee" the Regensburg WOCHE noted at wooing away a highly trained labor force from the GDR. No "head money" has been spared. The SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG reported at the weekend that certain firms are pinning their hopes on "the settlers from the GDR." There is a shortage, above all, of people to wash dishes in the catering trade. The "beer and carousel barons" at the Oktoberfest have high hopes of "GDR citizens," and of profit in the truest sense of the word, wrote the Munich popular daily TZ. "The Ghost Train" and "Geier's Nosedive" are looking for helpers to set up the rides and take money.

A spokesman for the Bavaria regional organization of the DGB [FRG Trade Union Federation] said that there is

no doubt that in dealings with GDR citizens, agreed standard wages are being undercut by "miles" and the intention is to put pressure on the trade unions. The PASSAUER NEUE PRESSE said that doctors can "if necessary, also stand on their own two feet as lorry drivers and bricklayers." According to the U.S. news agency AP, job agencies which flog labor as required at short notice and without social security to firms, regard the unemployed and newcomers who are completely unfamiliar with their unscrupulous methods as their special prey.

In the utterly one-sided FRG media commotion, voices of reason, objectivity and responsibility are completely submerged. For example, the statement by writer Dieter Lattmann, longstanding president of the FRG Writers' Association, that the issuing of FRG passes to GDR citizens "and, moreover, on the territory of another country, is a violation of the Basic Treaty," does not appear in any Bavarian newspaper. Lattmann pointed out that in the FRG media and the Bonn parties the claim to solve right of representation of the 1950s is being resurrected. Under the slogans "freedom" and "humanity" the West is pursuing something quite different—namely the attempt to destabilize the GDR.

Referring to the propaganda by FRG television in preparation for "D-Day," DIE ZEIT writes that, faced with this, "reason at the moment has only a small voice. However, in truth, in future, too, only carefully considered steps can guarantee stability and peace."

Just what one should think about the fuss about Bonn's humanity is evident in this same Passau in which the commotion about GDR "refugees" is concentrated. In another shocking event, 60 Lebanese refugees and Turks were recently discovered almost frozen to death in a refrigerated wagon coming from Austria. They were not only not welcomed by the police, but arrested and then deported. Also, 23 Yugoslav citizens, including 13 children and 3 infants, the FREILASSINGER ANZEIGER reports, were turned back by the FRG border officials at Walserberg.

FRG Refugee 'Coup' Called Sign of Revanchism

LD1109180589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 11 Sep 89

["The 'Grand Coup' from the FRG"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following long-term planning and careful organization, a start was made on Monday in an action in the dead of night to bring a large number of GDR citizens with the greatest use of propaganda, illegally and under violation of treaties and agreements in international law, from the Hungarian People's Republic to the FRG. This incident is without precedence in international life, in relations between sovereign states, and represents open intervention in the internal affairs of the GDR and other states. Those responsible in the FRG undertook and financed this step against all advice and warnings, contrary to all the constructive proposals and initiatives from the GDR to find a joint solution to this problem. Citizens of our state were openly wooed away and confused in an unbridled campaign of incitement and calumny against the GDR, by abusing travel and contact opportunities, via the mass media and through direct actions.

It is regrettable that representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic allowed themselves to be led to violate treaties and agreements. International law and international agreements can in no way be cited as justification for this decision, on the contrary they forbid intervention in internal affairs, the disregarding of national laws and regulations of other states and the arbitrary revocation or unilateral repeal of binding treaties and agreements.

Representatives from Bonn are fully exploiting Hungary's position for their own anti-socialist and revanchist aims. The socialist German state has shown patience and flexibility, but of course it has held fast to principles too. It set out constructive offers to the states involved. It remains ready to enable the GDR citizens affected, who—for whatever reasons—wished to leave their republic, to return to law and order, it is still prepared to show magnanimity. This corresponds to the humanist character of the social order in the GDR. Attempts at political and economic blackmail, threats and temptations must of course be rejected resolutely.

This coup by the FRG is neither a chance nor an isolated action. It is part of the whole crusade by imperialism against socialism where special remedies are prescribed in each case for the individual socialist fraternal states from Berlin to Beijing.

Much has changed in a positive way in Europe, including the relations between both German states and between the GDR and Berlin (West). The idea of the common European house is finding broader and broader support.

However, one must ask Bonn now whether its policy of the so- called "caring duty" is not becoming a modern version of that notorious "Home to the Reich" movement which misuses people solely as objects of revanchism and chauvinism. The devastating consequences and innumerable human tragedies of such a policy and practice should not be forgotten on this 50th anniversary of the unleashing of World War II.

The timing of this action is also not particularly surprising. It was stage-managed on the eve of the GDR's 40th anniversary. The laws of class struggle are operating mercilessly here. Not everyone resists the demands and pressures—some leave their country because of the opponent's psychological warfare. The victory of socialism on German soil, the 40-year-long successful development of the socialist German state—this is at the same time the historical defeat of German imperialism. As so often in history, the opponents of socialism are attempting to drown out historic caesuras with provocations and propaganda campaigns. After all attempts to halt the wheel of history have failed, imperialist circles

now clearly believe that the chance of the century has come and a kind of "social revenge" for the defeats since the 1917 October Revolution is possible. Thus the GDR too, as the cornerstone of peace and socialism on the dividing line between the two world orders, is to be blackmailed using enticements, promises and threats, to renounce the basic principles and fundamental values of socialism.

The statements by officials in Bonn over the weekend have proved once again that under the pretext of humanitarian action, organized trafficking in human beings is being pursued. The words of August Bebel have once again been reinforced: "When the enemy praises you...."

The workers in the GDR with their achievements and activities on the 40th anniversary, are responding correctly to these imperialist machinations. The powerful rally in Berlin's Bebelplatz marking the day of commemoration for the victims of fascist terrorism, on the day of struggle against fascism and war, the impressive events in the towns and communities in the GDR have unmistakeably expressed the citizens' belief in their socialist state, in the policy of peace, disarmament and cooperation with all countries in the world. Here, on socialist German soil, is the home of peace, humanity, social stability and security. Here, everyone is needed and everyone has the opportunity to fulfill his potential. Socialism on German soil is an indispensable element of peace, security and stability in Europe. The socialist social order is just as irrevocable in the GDR as the GDR's alliance with the USSR and its friendly relations with the socialist fraternal states.

Red Cross Proposes Talks With Hungary

AU1209102089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Talks Between the German Red Cross and the Hungarian Red Cross Proposed"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Short-term talks between representatives of the Red Cross associations in Budapest were proposed by the German Red Cross of the GDR to the Hungarian Red Cross. The talks were to deal with joint measures to support the return of GDR citizens to the GDR. Before that, the Hungarian Red Cross had suggested cooperation between the two organizations.

It is its humanitarian concern to help the GDR citizens in the Hungarian People's Republic to return to their secured social environment, the German Red Cross stated. Thus, it asks for the opportunity to be provided to its representatives to discuss the return of GDR citizens with them. At the same time, the German Red Cross of the GDR is prepared to help above all sick and needy citizens and children to return and to provide for them on their way home.

Ligachev Leads Soviet Delegation on Visit

LD1209103789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0858 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee headed by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, arrived in the GDR on Tuesday morning for an exchange of views lasting several days between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the CPSU on issues relating to agriculture and alliance policy. They were warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport by Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The delegation will have talks with leading politicians of the GDR and visit agricultural installations.

Voss on 40th Anniversary of GDR in USSR

AU1009192189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 6

[ADN report: "Important Event Also in the Life of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In an interview for ADN, August Voss, chairman of the Central Executive Council of the Soviet-GDR Friendship Society, noted that the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR also is an important event in the social life of the USSR. Over the past 40 years, the GDR working people, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], have followed the great path of building socialism. The GDR is celebrating its anniversary as a politically stable, dynamically developing industrial state, Voss said.

The German worker-peasant state, August Voss continued, is a respected member of the international community. Its voice has authority when important problems which concern the vital interests of the peoples of the world are to be solved. The GDR is making an essential contribution to consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist states.

The Soviet people note with satisfaction that the friends in the GDR inseparably link their successes with the overall cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, August Voss stressed. Since the founding of the GDR, both fraternal countries have been linked by firm bonds of friendship, which are becoming increasingly more firm and more indestructible. "We remember how Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev told the delegations of the 11th SED Congress that our party and our people have stood at your side during all the years since the war, always ready to help the young workers' state. We have been loyal friends and allies of the SED and the GDR, and we will remain so forever!"

Therefore, the Soviet people will celebrate the forthcoming anniversary like their own, August Voss stated.

The Soviet-GDR Friendship Society actively participates in the preparations and carrying out of the celebrations on the GDR's 40th anniversary in the USSR. These days the preparations for festive meetings, rallies, meetings, and film festivals are being made in the basic organizations of the society. Academic competitions, which are dedicated to the GDR's anniversary, are also planned. The GDR's forthcoming cultural days in the USSR offer a large and varied program. The work of the Soviet friendship society is also being activated and its basis is being expanded. Thus, a new department of the friendship society will soon be opened in the Kazakh town of Pavlodar.

On the occasion of their national day, August Voss wished all GDR working people new successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and in preparing the 12th SED Congress. He expressed the conviction that the friendship between the USSR and the GDR and the unshakable unity between the CPSU and the SED will continue to consolidate and deepen for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and in the interest of strengthening peace in the world.

Polish Official Told of Western Propoganda

LD1209043289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1629 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During a talk in Berlin on Monday, Politburo members Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area organization, and Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw Polish United Workers' Party committee, praised the long-term, continuous cooperation and peace policies of the GDR and Poland.

Guenter Schabowski noted that the working people of the GDR, with their many social activities for the GDR anniversary, were giving the only correct response to the anti-communist incitement of the Western mass media and political forces. The disappointment of the opponent over the failure of its 40-year conspiracy against socialism in the GDR is mirrored in this wave of revanchist propaganda. The powerful rally at the Berlin Bebelplatz on Sunday, at which 200,000 working people demonstrated for strong socialism and secure peace, was an expression of the close links between the people and the SED, of the firm will to fulfil the legacy of the antifascist resistance fighters in word and deed.

Janusz Kubasiewicz went into the activity of the Warsaw party organization in the current processes of restructuring, which also were stamped by the clash of classes.

The partners in the talks agreed to continue and deepen the long-term trusting cooperation between Berlin and Warsaw.

People's Army Delegation Visits Austria

AU1009201989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "People's Army Delegation in the Republic of Austria"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—On Monday [4 September] a delegation of the National People's Army [NVA], headed by Colonel General Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy minister of defense and chief of the NVA Main Staff, arrived for a visit of several days in Austria. It follows an invitation by General Othmar Tauschitz, troop inspector general of the Austrian Army, who was in the GDR in September 1987. After the military welcoming ceremony at Vienna-Schwechat Airport, the delegation was received by General Tauschitz.

Colonel General Streletz conveyed greetings from Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, which were returned equally cordially. The interlocutors expressed the conviction that the visit will further deepen the traditionally good relations between the GDR and Austria and between their armed forces in the interest of the two peoples and states and the preservation of peace in Europe.

The visit of the NVA delegation corresponds to the spirit of the relations between the two countries, which have developed positively since 1972 on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence also in the military area. It was noted that both countries are equally interested in preserving peace and in averting the danger of a war and are, therefore, actively working to consolidate trust and security and to promote disarmament in Europe. Essential stimuli for the trusting political dialogue and the mutually beneficial cooperation as an example of constructive coexistence of states with different social systems were given by the meeting between GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in the GDR in 1988, they noted.

NVA Delegation Visits Vienna Defense Academy

AU1009202189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "NVA Delegation Visits Vienna Defense Academy"]

[Text] Vienna—On Tuesday [5 September] the delegation of the National People's Army [NVA] headed by Colonel General Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the NVA Main Staff, acquainted itself with tasks and organization of the National Defense Academy of the Austrian Army in Vienna. General Karl Schaffer, commander of the highest military training institution, welcomed the delegation and referred to the already traditional relations between the armed forces of the two countries. During the talks NVA representatives explained the defense

doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states. On behalf of GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, Colonel General Streletz invited a delegation of the National Defense Academy to Dresden for an exchange of experiences at the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy.

At the beginning of the second day of their visit, the NVA delegation laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in Vienna. An honor guard company of the Austrian Army had lined up in front of the crypt of the heroes' memorial.

In the evening the GDR military and air force attache in Austria gave a reception to mark the occasion of the visit of the NVA delegation.

Sources Say Honecker's Health Deteriorating

AU1109165889 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1630 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] According to Western diplomatic sources in Eastern bloc countries, GDR State Council Chairman Honecker's health has allegedly considerably deteriorated in recent days.

According to these sources, there are indications that Honecker is no longer in full possession of his mental strength. Reportedly Honecker is also being increasingly criticized within the Politburo in East Berlin for having misjudged the significance and extent of the refugee movement of GDR citizens and for having even furthered this movement by his stubbornness.

People Arrested in Alexanderplatz Released

AU1109144389 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Sep p 1

[EPD report: "Release of 80 People Arrested in East Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin—Approximately 80, predominantly young, people who had been arrested during a protest action in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz on Thursday evening [7 September] were released again early in the morning on Friday. Some of the people who, with their actions, had wanted to protest against the electoral fraud in the municipal elections of 7 May were threatened with disciplinary penalties for "disturbing socialist coexistence." After their release, several of the arrested people were given medical treatment. According to participants, approximately 10 passers-by who had not been involved, among them one Englishman and a Hungarian, were also arrested.

Eyewitnesses reported that some of the security officials in plain clothes and in uniform, who had completely closed off the square, had taken brutal action against the young people. At least one young man was beaten up by several policemen, others were dragged away by the arms and legs. However, Albrecht Hinze, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent in East Berlin, did not observe such excesses by the police.

Civil rights activists had announced the action in a leaflet which called the meeting in Alexanderplatz at 1700 on Thursday afternoon to "hiss aloud at the elections" using a whistling instrument of one's own choice. As early as 1 hour before that time, hundreds of policemen in uniform and plain clothes had checked people in the square and rudely requested passers-by to leave the square. Those visiting the adjoining Centrum department store were temporarily prevented from leaving the store. Accredited Western journalists were expelled from Alexanderplatz, while the "application of police measures" was pointed out to them.

Numerous people had also been arrested in East Berlin during previous protests against the electoral fraud that took place in the evangelical St Sophia Church on 6 June and in Alexanderplatz on 7 July.

Use of Violence in Border Town

Security forces in the border town of Forst (Cottbus Bezirk) also forcibly prevented members of an evangelical peace circle from participating in the official demonstration to commemorate the German invasion of Poland 50 years ago. As reported in East Berlin on Friday, the church participants had wanted to participate with their own posters which, among other things, called for "bridges to peace, instead of barriers to peace."

Activities at Leipzig Autumn Fair Continue

Albanian Official Views Fair

AU1009233389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with Ligor Dhamo, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, by Hans Jordan in Leipzig: "Leipzig Has Always Brought Good Results for Us"; date not given]

[Text] ND: You are visiting the Leipzig fair for the first time. What are your impressions?

Ligor Dhamo: For more than 30 years Albania has been regularly represented in this important trading place. Thus, naturally I know the Leipzig fair well. It is one of the biggest fairs in Europe. Participation in the Leipzig fair has always brought good results for our Socialist People's Republic. And I think that this will remain so in the future. This is guaranteed, not least, by the atmosphere here, which promotes good trade.

ND: Which intentions do you have for your visit?

Ligor Dhamo: On Monday [4 September] we signed a work program on long-term cooperation with the GDR's Foreign Trade Chamber. This involves not only the expansion of trade but also the coordination of joint activities. For instance, we want to put into motion such cooperation with the GDR as we already have in the construction of our textile combine in Berati via the GDR Textima Combine, also in other fields. I think of

the production of agricultural machinery, and we are striving for similar things also in the field of electric engineering and electronic industry. First steps in this direction have already been made.

Thus, we do not just want to increase the export of minerals and vegetables, for instance, but we want to find new forms of cooperation. For this reason representatives of all important foreign trade enterprises of Albania and of numerous enterprises have come to Leipzig.

ND: What are the prospects you see?

Ligor Dhamo: It is our wish that the GDR remains our most important trading partner. In my view, the prospects for cooperation between our two countries are good. We are particularly pleased to note this in view of the 40th anniversary of the GDR on 7 October and the 45th anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Albania on 29 November.

PRC Official on Cooperation

AU1009230389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Jia Zhenzhi, president of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, Shanghai, by Klaus Bliedtner, in Leipzig: "Best Conditions for Expanding Trade"—date not given]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What are the PRC exhibitors' expectations from the Leipzig Autumn Fair?

Jia Zhenzhi: This fair falls in the phase of the preparations for the 40th anniversary of the founding of our two states. The active exchange of opinions between leading representatives of both parties and states, as well as the concluded agreements on the development of long-term cooperation have created excellent conditions for expanding trade relations between the PRC and the GDR. We want to use the fair for making further good business transactions for the benefit of both countries. In addition, for us Leipzig is a market on which we can cultivate and extend economic relations with all countries.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What made the PRC Chamber for Foreign Trade for the first time organize a collective exhibition with products from Shanghai?

Jia Zhenzhi: We chose Shanghai because it has the biggest seaport in our country, which handles a considerable volume of foreign trade between our two countries. Besides, the city is one of the most important industrial, financial, and cultural centers of the PRC. With our participation in this fair we would like to establish further possibilities to extend our economic relations.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: In which fields do you see the best opportunities for expanding trade?

Jia Zhenzhi: The objective of the Shanghai Chamber for Foreign Trade is to promote direct relations between enterprises of both states. Shanghai has a developed textile industry, which is interested in cooperation with the GDR. Moreover, we have learned about interesting developments in the field of the construction of textile machinery here in Leipzig, as well as in GDR exhibitions in the PRC. We also believe that there are good prospects for joint projects between enterprises of both countries. One important issue of our participation in this fair is to promote understanding between potential partners for these joint projects.

Environment Discussed

AU1009232489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talks With FRG Officials on Issues of Environmental Protection"]

[Text] Leipzig—Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water conservancy, and Henning Voscherau, president of the Senat and mayor of Hamburg, held talks on aspects of environmental policy at the periphery of the Leipzig Autumn Fair on Tuesday [5 September]. In their factual and constructive exchange of ideas, the two officials discussed possibilities of extending cooperation between the GDR and Hamburg and also for solving environmental questions on the basis of the agreements concluded between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Henning Voscherau. The partners in the talk concurred in stressing that equal cooperation, on the basis of agreements between the governments of the GDR and the FRG on further shaping relations in the sphere of environmental protection, is developing positively for the benefit of the people and the protection of nature. This is conducive to political dialogue and the normalization of relations between the two German states, they noted. It was stated that all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR only harm these relations.

The talk focused on the results and projects for the protection of the atmosphere and clean air, as well as the harmless disposal of waste products. The two officials attached great importance to the protection of waterways. In this context they stressed the usefulness of the negotiations on the protection of the water of the Elbe River, which were resumed in March this year at the invitation of the GDR. In this connection an exchange of opinions took place on cooperation in the spheres of scientific-technological and economic cooperation for preventing the pollution of the Elbe.

Minister Reichelt outlined the many, diverse, and continuing efforts of the GDR in the interest of improving the water quality of the Elbe and its tributaries, as well as in the interest of keeping the North Sea clean. He briefed his guest on the construction and extension of numerous

industrial and communal purification plants as well as other plants for filtering and subsequent use of water pollutants. The national economy of the GDR allocates considerable financial means to this purpose, he said. Important efforts are also being made in the agricultural sector to reduce the pollution of waterways with phosphates and nitrogens. The projects, which were recently agreed upon by the governments of the GDR and the FRG play a major role for reducing the pollution caused by mercury, Reichelt concluded.

Present at these talks was Franz Bertele, head of the FRG Permanent Representation in the GDR.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 31 Aug-5 Sep

AU1009194589

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 1-6 September reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Willi Stoph, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo and president of the People's Chamber; and the following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial for Polish soldiers and German anti-fascists in Berlin on 1 September: Hermann Axen, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde. (2-3 Sep, p 1)

The following members of the Politburo attended a peace meeting in Berlin on 1 September: Horst Sindermann and Guenter Schabowski. (2-3 Sep, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended a festive concert in Leipzig on 2 September: Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Inge Lange, and Gerhard Schuerer. (4 Sep, p 2)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended a reception for the foreign representatives in Leipzig on 3 September: Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Guenter Mittag, and Gerhard Schuerer. (4 Sep, p 2)

The following members and candidate members of the Politburo attended a reception hosted by Willi Stoph for the Soviet delegation to the Leipzig Autumn Fair on 3 September: Guenther Kleiber and Gerhard Schuerer. (4 Sep, p 2)

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization, in Berlin on 1 September. (2-3 Sep, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, attended the Thomas Muentzer conference in Halle on 31 August. (1 Sep, p 4) He attended a reception hosted by the secretary of the People's Commitee of the People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Berlin on 1 September. (2-3 Sep, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited the Benneckenstein compressor works on 31 August. (1 Sep, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the Poltiburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Petko Danchev, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in Leipzig on 4 September. (5 Sep, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received the outgoing Swedish ambassador in Berlin on 5 September. (6 Sep, p 2)

Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo and chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, attended a peace meeting in Pasewalk on 1 September. (2-3 Sep, 5)

16,000 East Germans Arrive, Genscher To Visit

LD1209124689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpt] According to data from the Border Guard and the Red Cross, provision must be made for well over 10,000 former GDR citizens. The number probably exceeds the estimated data on whose basis the temporary accomodations were was arranged. Now authorities are looking for more buildings and sports halls suitable for sleeping quarters, particularly since hearing a report from Budapest Radio to the effect that 16,000 GDR citizens have suddenly arrived in Hungary. As to how many more will come, nobody dares to estimate this. So far more than 1,500 cars and 70 buses have brought people, but some 130 buses are still standing ready in Hungary, according to the Red Cross representative. This means 7,000 passengers at one time.

To these numbers must also be added those arriving in their own cars from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania, via Hungary; and that is not to mention those coming by train and on foot.

Foreign Minister Genscher is to travel to Hungary in the next few days. I do not think much speculation is necessary on the topics he will discuss. The present situation will provide the topics to discuss.

'Wave' From Bulgaria Expected

LD1109200489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] From midnight, a multitude of East Germans left Hungary. On the basis of figures received from the border guard, out of the 6,500 people in the various camps, almost 5,000 have so far crossed into Austria. Marta Dio reports:

[Dio] [passage omitted] According to the latest news just received, everyone has already set off from Csilleberc; the camp has emptied. The situation in Zanka is similar.

[Announcer] Something to add to the figures of the strange mass emigration: During the course of the day, around 26,000 GDR citizens set off back to their original homes. At the same time, another wave must be reckoned with from those still in Bulgaria or who have already set off from there. What is even more surprising—again, I refer to the border guard for the figures—in the past 24 hours, 16,000 people from the GDR have crossed into Hungary from Czechoslovakia, the vast majority at Rajka. [passage omitted]

Interior Official on Situation

LD1109223189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Interview with Jeno Foldesi, state secretary at the Interior Ministry, by correspondent Miklos Kovacs-Martin; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Kovacs-Martin] [passage omitted] How do you, as state secretary of the Interior Ministry, see the situation?

[Foldesi] Neither the leadership, nor those in the executive bodies have an easy task. Our border guards tolerated the tension which fell on them from this enormous pressure with increasing difficulty. According to our evaluation, around 1,200-1,300 people crossed the border of the country illegally.

We have no kind of figures as to how many GDR citizens there are in the country as present. I think that the majority of those who wish to leave will leave the country today and tomorrow.

[Kovacs-Martin] So you are not counting on several tens of thousands of people leaving?

[Foldesi] I do not think that all the people staying here will take advantage of this opportunity.

[Kovacs-Martin] How long will the border remain open?

[Foldesi] I cannot say yet. Temporary can mean a few days and can also mean a longer time. I would add that the border guard personnel received the government decision and the instructions from the interior minister with relief, for in this way, they can ward off a series of dangerous situations. GDR citizens who are leaving their homeland can be directed away from the green border to the points where traffic is supervised. [passage omitted]

Daily on 'Refugee Explosion'

AU1209094389 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Sep 89 p 6

[Article by Imre Tatar: "Hot Summer—Refugee Explosion"]

[Text] Well-tanned young people dressed in shorts, Puma shirts, and jeans—this is how the FRAKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG describes a group of GDR refugees who are already settled in a Bavarian camp and who arrived there from the Lake Balaton area not long ago. They had not run away from misery, persecution, or social insecurity. Obviously, the feeling that "man does not live by bread alone" made these people leave their homeland, because the GDR has the highest standard of living "in the socialist camp," and the GDR also has the most solid system of social allowances and a relatively stable economy.

Perhaps this is why this new exodus of people surprised both governments in Berlin and Bonn, an exodus in which Hungary became a transit station, whether we like it or not.

Citizenship

It is true that the FRG Constitution recognizes only one type of citizenship: German citizenship. Thus, if an GDR citizen arrives in the FRG, he automatically becomes an FRG citizen. Although Parliament in Bonn recognized the existence of the other German state in 1972, contrary to this act, it did not recognize a separate

GDR citizenship. Both the two German states and the two systems of alliance have quite different positions on this issue. It is a fact that, when a GDR tourist goes to the FRG Embassy in Budapest or anywhere else, he immediately receives an FRG passport and all he has to do is set foot on FRG territory. (The GDR Government strongly protests over this.) However, Bonn is not happy about having its embassies occupied either, partly because this practice hinders consular activity, and partly because this increases the tension between the two German states. GDR citizens who stay over, escape, or beg admittance through a third country (like Hungary now) are accepted as fellow citizens in the FRG, but in reality Bonn does not consider this to be the ideal way.

Despite the occasional tensions, the relations between the two German countries have developed positively in recent years. For many years now, both the government and the opposition in Bonn have agreed that they should apply a "policy of small steps," namely to see to it that an increasing number of GDR citizens are allowed to visit the FRG and, if they want, they can legally settle in the FRG. However, the FRG no longer encourages this with such intensive propaganda as before; along with "small steps," Bonn has recently been stressing primarily the development of interstate relations. The FRG has practically given priority to the rapprochement of the two systems of alliance over the reunification of Germany. Today the FRG encourages GDR citizens to stay in their homeland if possible, and to try to change the conditions there. According to an "internal German ministry" state secretary, GDR citizens "had better stay at home, lest the reunification take place in the FRG." In other words, nowadays the FRG Government and the parliamentary parties are looking at the national issue and the possible reunification of the two German states in a historical perspective, and they are regarding the improvement of FRG-GDR relations as a direct political goal. They expect the general all-European development to bring about a future unity in some as yet undetermined form. Chancellor Kohl even reprimanded one of his party colleagues at the beginning of this summer for "making a daily political issue out of reunification" in the midst of the race with the extreme right.

At Lake Balaton

However, the Lake Balaton area spas seem to have upset this policy of small steps with a "major step." The flow of refugees does not care about tactful, gradual, and diplomatic considerations. According to a newspaper article, "the increasing pressure (number of people) on the other side of the wall shows the end of the policy of small steps, a policy that culminated in Erich Honecker's visit in Bonn in 1987."

The FRG Government would like to see things return to normal, to the old ways, and in this respect the "traditional" results are not bad at all. The number of nonpensioner GDR tourists to the FRG peaked last year and reached a few million, and, strangely enough, there were only a few "defections." The resettling statistics also show surprising figures: By 31 July this year, more than 46,000 people had been officially allowed to settle in the FRG officially; Bonn is expecting 10,000 more in August, and a total of 90,000 people by the end of this year. This is a record. The number of "illegal" crossings has been 20,000 so far.

The FRG authorities receive these people with great care, but they had not prepared for this summer flow, and thus they were also forced to temporarily use tent-camp methods. However, all these are only technical measures, and the essential thing is the future, the development of relations between the two German states and the effect on Europe as a whole in view of this exodus of refugees. Chancellor Kohl recently pointed out that the FRG did not want "the GDR to be drained of blood." The FRG Government spokesman said the following about their position at the end of August: "We must find a solution to this problem, on the basis of which the old methods can be used again. The Federal Government must think not only of those who found refuge in our embassies, but also of those who submitted legal emigration applications in Berlin, and primarily of those who want to stay in the GDR. In other words, we should not disregard our relations with the GDR. However, we would gain a lot if the GDR also embarked on the path of reform followed by other socialist countries." Here is the delicate point.

It is worth noting that the recent refugee explosion has led to an open change of views precisely in the Social Democratic Party which has, for years, had the best relations with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], at least in the case of several outstanding FRG party leaders. According to one of the party's deputy chairman, Horst Ehmke, they should consider ways to make the economic aid directed to GDR "advantageous for the reform process." (According to Karsten Voigt, "The FRG should make a comprehensive cooperation proposal to the GDR if, as a compensation, the GDR is ready to initiate social changes.)

Barter Deal

However, their bark is worse than their bite. After the big refugee wave slows down and the problem is solved humanely, both sides will definitely endeavor to settle their interstate relations, and, although they cannot use the same solution twice, everything will be slightly different after this great outbreak of the desire for freedom.

However, this summer also has other international references, aspects that the FRG press has only mentioned and which the politicians have hardly mentioned so far, but they have been definitely thinking about. A FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE ZEITUNG editorial said that the flow of refugees "had contradicted" the idea that a lasting peace in Europe is inconceivable without maintaining the status quo, an idea that has been considered irrefutable so far. According to the aforementioned editorial, the loosening of the Warsaw Pact has rendered the status quo uncertain, and the "double statehood" forced

upon the Germans is now rejected, and this also shows what we should think about the principle that the only way to the future should be one in which "the GDR should be liberalized in order to remain stable and avoid a deterioration in the status quo." The editorial goes rather far in the consequences, but it also recognizes that Bonn does not intend to destabilize the GDR, all the more so because such a thing would also affect the balance of power that emerged after World War II. Let us quote another article from the aforementioned newspaper: "Despite all the loosening of the bloc, the GDR is part of the defeated Germany, even if Moscow does not talk too much about this. GDR's sovereignty is limited, even by Eastern bloc standards, and Gorbachev needs calm at his western borders now, and also to prove the controlled opening of the Soviet Union toward the West. If the GDR fails in both these respects, Moscow could come to the conclusion that East Berlin is unable to fulfill its task. And then, Honecker and his entire regime are in for a dark future. Thus, the dramatic flow of refugees has "spiralled" into the European policy too. On the occasion of the Polish Government change too, the Soviet Union made it clear that it continued to regard the security of its western border as very important, and in this case, the "border" has a broader meaning, stretching to the Elbe River. Both Bonn and Washington intend to respect this security demand.

Therefore, many things support orderly relations between the two German states, in accordance with the interests of Europe, with traditional or new methods, following a humane solution of the refugee issue handled according to international law and goodwill. However, the mood of GDR citizens and long-term relations between the two German states cannot be shaped during a vacation at Lake Balaton.

Official Comments on 'Solution'

AU1209094689 Vienna KURIER in German 12 Sep 89 p 12

[G. Berenyi report on "exclusive" interview with Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi: "Hungary Wants To Help—And Not Traffic in Human Beings"—date and place not given]

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Oszi said

—On the dilemma of the Hungarian Government:

"It was difficult for us: We did not want to strain our good relations with the GDR, but at the same time we wanted to act in line with our principles of foreign policy—observing human rights agreements."

—On the role of the reform course in the refugees question:

"If we stand up for the observance of human rights in connection with the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, we have to apply the same principle here—even though the situation in the GDR cannot be compared with that in Romania. Besides, if we are serious about returning to a law-governed state, this principle must be applied everywhere."

—On the accusations of "trafficking in human beings":

"We sharply reject such evil accusations. In our contacts with Bonn there was never any mention of 'head money' or 'future rewards'—we did not discuss economic issues at all!"

—On the influence of other governments of the East on Hungary's attitude:

"The government made a sovereign decision. We discussed this issue only with the two German states and no other foreign country. We are aware that the USSR regards this issue as a question that concerns the three countries (FRG, GDR, Hungary)."

—On possible effects within the Warsaw Pact:

"We hope that the effects on our relationship with the GDR will only be temporary. Besides, the times when the Warsaw Pact was concerned about the internal affairs of individual member states, are over."

—On the danger of a new wave of refugees from other neighboring countries:

"Our principles apply of course to all nations. However, other cases would most probably lack this special situation, namely that a country like the FRG is ready to accept refugees unconditionally. In view of the fact that there are not enough countries that admit refugees from other countries, Hungary will not repeat such a solution—and neither will Austria, I suppose."

Horn Says ADN Statement 'Low'

LD1209112289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo, at the Central Committee building in Budapest on 11 September—recorded]

[Text] [Laszlo] On two occasions during the past day the GDR news agency criticized fairly sharply the Hungarian measure whereby GDR citizens may leave for the country of their choice, or that the Hungarian Government has suspended certain points of the intergovernmental agreement. What is your opinion of this news agency stance?

[Horn] This ADN statement, whose standard is difficult to qualify, as low as it is, also contains allegations which are unacceptable and offensive to us. The allegation that I have in mind is that some kind of conspiracy has taken place here with the FRG: no doubt we are getting appropriate compensation, because that is what this stance suggests. I expounded my opinion about this on Sunday, stressing repeatedly that this offends not only the Hungarian Government but the Hungarian people as well.

But I would add something else. I also read the papers, and in the western papers I have read on more than one occasion that the GDR is getting certain amounts for the resettlers. Whether this is true or not true I can neither refute nor confirm. But I have a feeling that when the news agency formulates things in this way, perhaps it is taking their own practice as the point of departure. Hungary has no practice of this kind; in other words it should ask for any kind of support, compensation, or assistance for the resettlers.

[Laszlo] What is your opinion about the fact that the GDR is continuing to allow its citizens to travel to Hungary; moreover that, according to certain reports, the exit permits are being granted at a stepped-up rate to those who would have liked, or who would like, to resettle in the west?

[Horn] We have not received any kind of information from Berlin as to what the GDR leadership is planning. Therefore, I do not know what to do with these rumors, because this has not been confirmed or refuted from any official quarter. Well, no doubt if the GDR is planning some kind of measure, it will inform us of it.

[Laszlo] How long can this Hungarian measure remain in force; in other words that the GDR citizens are allowed, with their own travel documents, their own identity cards, to cross the Hungarian border toward a country to which they would like to travel, or which will accept them? Because this did not emerge with absolute precision from your original statement.

[Horn] And the reason why this is not absolutely precise is not because I am using tactics or want to leave it obscure, but we ourselves do not know either how long it will remain in force. Actually, our objective was that the GDR citizens who do not want to return home should leave here. As I have said, Hungary can no longer sustain this situation, this extraordinarily grave situation. At the same time we also wish to guarantee the possibility for all those GDR citizens who want to leave and who will be accepted, to be able to do this.

[Laszlo] So, in that case, one cannot say that this measure will only remain valid for a few days, as some of the opinions which are in circulation have it.

[Horn] Look, this is something I cannot say. What I said on Sunday, too, was that it would not be for 24 hours. Well, the 24 hours have now elapsed already, in any case. Certainly not for months.

[Laszlo] You have given a statement to the Spanish paper ABC and this paper has quoted you as saying that refugees from other countries, too, have appeared—from Romania, from Carpathia- Ukrainia—and that we also wish to help them, to leave for a country, or countries, where they will be accepted. How many such refugees are there in Hungary?

[Horn] There are no Sub-Carpathian, Soviet, Czechoslovak, or other refugees. I did not discuss them because I have no knowledge of such refugees. What I do know is that citizens of those countries have not turned to the Hungarian authorities for refugee status. What I emphasized to the Spanish paper is that the situation connected with those resettling from Romania is becoming more and more serious. Why? Because in recent weeks and months the number of Romanian Romanians [as opposed to Magyars from Romania] in our midst—those who do not want to stay in Hungary, but wish to leave for various countries, for the west is growing. However, this does not depend on Hungary, because it is no good for us to say to them: Please, do go on, let us say toward Austria, if Austria does not admit them. The countries concerned, that is to say the countries belonging to the convention, very thoroughly screen those whom they admit. Therefore, it is not good for the High Commission for Refugee Affairs to make out the document; this is still no guarantee that the countries referred to will admit them. The experiences are fairly negative, fairly saddening. I underline this also lest anyone in a neighboring country, or in Romania, imagine that from Hungary there is a straight road leading to the west. What is obvious is that this country cannot turn into a refugee camp. We have pointed this out over and over again. This is why we do not encourage anyone to come to Hungary, or to think that they can travel on from here.

[Laszlo] How did the Warsaw Pact member countries react to the Hungarian step? Has there been any kind of expression of official opinion in this matter?

[Horn] I can only refer to what has appeared in the press of the Warsaw Pact member states; the majority, the overwhelming majority, of articles report objectively about what has happened, expound the situation, but do not add any particular commentary. To date we have received no official reaction. There has been no official statement, or official standpoint, in the sphere of the Warsaw Pact member states.

Communique on CSSR Danube Talks

LD0909214489 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, September 9 (MTI)—The fact that the two sides issued separate communiques on the Bratislava talks of Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy on Saturday reflects that Czechoslovakia and Hungary have not changed their position on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The Hungarian communique runs as follows:

As agreed in the Hungarian-Czechoslovak prime ministerial meeting on July 20, deputy prime ministerial consultations were held in Bratislava on Saturday. The talks focussed on issues concerning the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage and the suspension of preparations for diverting the Dabube into a new riverbed at Dunakiliti. The Hungarian side obtained information on the ideas concerning the prospective diversion of the Danube in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by Pavel Hrivnak, deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak federal government and Slovak prime minister, and the Hungarian delegation by Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister.

On July 20, the Hungarian Government handed over proposals to the Czechoslovak government for carrying out international scientific examinations on minimizing the ecological risks of the water barrage system and working out ecological guarantees. It initiated to hold genuine talks on the proposals.

The Czechoslovak side invariably insists on continuing the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage under the inter-state agreement. It disagreed with the Hungarian position that it requries three to five years to carry out exact ecological surveys. It urged to begin preparations for the suspended diversion of the Danube into a new riverbed at Dunakiliti, and complete the work quickly so that the particular units of the Gabcikovo power plant can be put into operation in 1990 as scheduled originally.

The Hungarian side stated with regret: The Czechoslovak Government ignored that both Hungary and Czechoslovakia are in a state of ecological emergency. By suspending preparations for diverting the Danube into a new riverbed at Dunakiliti, the Hungarian side sought to ensure appropriate time for elaborating and realizing measures to minimize ecological risks, and the possibilities of the required technical interventions and corrections. The Hungarian side will not divert the Danube without examining these conditions, before the parliamentary decision. It emphasized that all benefits of the joint project, the eventual material losses, the risks of intervention into nature and the burdens of prevention are common. It initiated that Hungary and Czechoslovakia should coordinate the technical solutions of enforcing the ecological requirements and reducing financial losses.

The Hungarian side asked for explanation concerning the diversion of the Danube on its Slovakian reach, the filling of the Czechoslovak part of the Dunakiliti-Kortvelyes reservoir, and the putting into operation of the first units of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant in 1990.

It became clear during the talks that at present the Czechoslovak side regards them as reserve measures for the case if the Hungarian side finally decides not to divert the river at Dunakiliti. Czechoslovakia will continuously provide the Hungarian side with the complete technical, ecological, navigational and water power utilization documents of the planned measure. The Hungarian side declared that the planned concept of diverting the Danube violates international law. It called the attention of the Czechoslovak side to the fact that unilateral measures changing the status quo of water management cannot be taken on border rivers. According to the Hungarian position, the planned Czechoslovak measure would violate the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty and the Border River Agreement signed in Prague in 1976.

The Hungarian side emphatically called attention to the ecological and hydrological risks of the planned measures, declaring that all responsibility for them lies with the Czechoslovak side. It established that not even temporarily can the planned measure be a technical alternative to the Hungarian suspension of preparations for diverting the river at Dunakiliti until a Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement is reached.

The negotiating parties agreed that Hungarian and Czechoslovak lawyers would evaluate the current situation concerning the construction and suspension of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage system and coordinate the interpretation of the inter-state agreement in the light of the possible steps until September 20.

The sides agreed that Hungarian and Czechoslovak scientists would examine the ecological effects of the filling and planned operation of the Dunakiliti-Kortvelyes reservoir. The negotiating parties agreed that the prime ministerial meeting should be held at a date so that the outcome of their talks can be considered by their governments in decision-making and in preparing the bill to be presented to parliament.

CSSR's Havel Writes to Pozsgay, Mazowiecki

LD0809182589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Hungary is striving for new forms of relations with neighboring countries which will not even contain the possibility of an action similar to that of 1968. Probably it was the consistent declaration of this new policy which led Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovak writer and opposition personality, to address an open letter, with an identical text, to Imre Pozsgay, and to Polish Premier Mazowiecki. You will now hear extracts from this letter:

Esteemed Mr. Pozsgay, esteemed Mr. Mazowiecki. In one and the same letter I address myself to you, which may seem a little unusual. However, there is a particular reason for this. For in Czechoslovakia not long ago, two of my Slovak friends were imprisoned and proceedings were instituted against them for subversion. They are men who remind me of you. They are Miroslav Kusy and Jan Carnogursky. Miro Kusy is a professor of philosophy. At the time of Dubcek he was a secretary of the Slovakian Communist Party Central Committee. He is a reform communist who believes that the power monopoly of the communist party ought not to be laid down in the Constitution and that it should have to struggle for its leading role in a free power contest.

His views are virtually indentical with yours, esteemed mr. Pozsgay, and if the occupiers' troops had not intervened in Czechoslovak developments in 1968, then there is every certainty that by now he would be a member of the Czechoslovak political leadership and he would be

filling a similar function in the Czechoslovak communist party as you are filling today in Hungary and in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP].

You, Mr. Mazowiecki, are usually characterized as a Catholic intellectual for whom his country's fate is extremely important. This same characterization can be applied to Jan Carnogursky, even if, it is true, he is a good many years younger than you. If in Czechoslovakia the paths of development were to turn in the direction of democracy, it cannot be precluded that he would one day be filling the very same function as the one with which you have now been entrusted.

Precisely your uplifted voices could not fail to have an effect. For this very reason it is so important, in my view, that you should take a stand on the side of the two Slovak democrats who have been incomprehensibly imprisoned and who are threatened with a serious prison sentence. I cannot imagine that your countries' endeavours—to live in democratic and pluralistic societies—could be lastingly successful if firmly ensconced between them is the dark mass of a conservative Czechoslovakia, where the critics of the leadership are put in prison perhaps in even larger numbers than happened in the times of Brezhnev.

I ask you to help. Vaclav Havel. Prague. 8 September 1989.

The editorial of Evening Magazine [name of program] obtained the contents of the open letter from Gyorgy Varga, Vaclav Havel's translator.

Dissociation From CSSR Intervention Considered

LD0509184789 Budapest MTI in English 1215 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—For the time being, there is no decision in the case of GDR citizens who want to leave Hungary for the Federal Republic of Germany. It may take days or even weeks to solve the problem, Ferenc Somogyi, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said during the Tuesday [5 September] session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, thereby refuting the FRG Government spokesman who was of the opinion that the problem of GDR refugees may be settled very soon.

Mr Somogyi confirmed the view that Hungary considers settlement of the problem basically the affair of the two German states, while it is directly interested in early solution. It is important for Hungary not to disturb its relations with the FRG or the GDR. Mr Somogyi confirmed that a one-off solution was to be found to the problem in order not to create a precedent. Hungary does not wish to serve as springboard to the West for people coming from East European countries. [passage omitted]

The Foreign Affairs Committee discussed the bills on travel abroad and passports, and on emigration and immigration. These clearly declare that the right to travel and to freely choose the place of residence is a fundamental right of Hungarian citizens. This overhaul of the travel regulations practically lifts all forms of restrictions on Hungarian citizens wishing to travel to and from the country. Accordingly, the notion of unlawful stay abroad will be eliminated.

The Foreign Affairs Committee then elected representatives with permanent invited status to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The six Hungarian delegates will include to members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Antal Reger and Karoly Toth.

The body then discussed the independent motion of Janos Sebok, MP [Member of Parliament]. The legislator proposed that the September session of Parliament declare its dissociation from the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Janos Berecz, chairman of the committee, was of the opinion that it was absolutely necessary for the Hungarian side to dissociate itself from the Czechoslovak intervention, however, Parliament should do this in the proper way, and in a manner well thought out from the political aspect. The main point is that legislation should not voice a historical verdict, but should express a clear dissociation from the use of violence and military strength in relations between the countries. It would also be desirable for the position taken by the legislature to take the future of Hungarian- Czechoslovak relations into consideration: it should safeguard contacts from further deterioration. The body decided to devote another session to Mr Sebok's motion prior to the parliamentary session, and to finalize its position on the bill at that session.

MSZMP Central Committee Meets 12 Sep

Economics, Europe on Agenda

LD1109190989 Budapest MTI in English 1638 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 11 (MTI)—The Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has summoned the session of the Central Committee for Tuesday, September 12. The body proposes the Central Committee to hear a report on the trilateral political coordination talks, and to discuss the theses of the Congress report, a report on the party's manifesto and statutes, and organizational issues related to the Congress.

The agenda of the Central Committee will also include the HSWP strategy related to the world economic opening and the Europe policy, a report on the economic processes in 1989, and the proposal for the guidelines of economic policy for 1990. The Central Committee is to take a position on the cooperative movement.

MTI Reports Session Opening

LD1209084789 Budapest MTI in English 0731 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] commenced its session in Budapest on Tuesday morning. The body is to hear reports on the progress of the trilateral political coordination discussions. It is also to debate on the account theses of the forthcoming party congress report, and is due to formulate its opinion on the party's draft manifesto and statutes and decide on organisational issues relating to the congress.

The agenda of the Central Committee is expected to include the HSWP strategy relating to the world economic opening and the Europe policy, including the report on the economic processes in 1989 as well as the proposal for the guidelines of economic policy for 1990. The body is to take a position on the cooperative movement.

Horn 'Not Happy' With 'Neighbors' Criticism

LD0809213689 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—'The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], which accepted the practice of dividing power, is tolerant towards the opposition, but does not accept the effort that others wish to acquire the exclusive right to exercise power [opening quotation mark as received]. Coalition is thus the only road leading out of the crisis, said Gyula Horn, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and foreign minister, at a political rally held in Diosgyor on Friday. Mr Horn also said he considers anti- communist manifestations to be alarming occurances, as these incite unjustified hate and divide the nation.

Mr Horn said the country's social and political feature has changed over the past year and a half, and this change was launched by the HSWP. In this sense, this is a unique step in all Eastern Europe.

'I do not know of a ruling party which would voluntarily accept to divide power', he noted.

Discussing the preparations for the HSWP congress, Mr Horn said: 'My personal opinion is that the Hungarian Socialist Party should be set up at the October congress, which would accept the furtherance of the values that can be upheld. At the same time, by founding this party, we can ensure dissociation from the past, which is not merely an issue of a change in name.'

Analyzing Hungary's international situation, the foreign minister noted:

'It is of vital importance that we fulfil our alliance obligations. All efforts that question the affiliation of our country to an alliance system can be accompanied by grave political danger.' Mr Horn did, however, say that this commitment cannot violate the Hungarian interests attached to other universal international contracts as, for instance, the U.N. Charter. Our hitherto system of relations with the other socialist countries should be re-evaluated, specific bilateral interests should dominate these, and the unnecessary dead weights should be discarded. The country's independence and sovereignty should be ensured, not only in the home political processes, in selecting the means of development, but also in the concrete Hungarian foreign political steps. 'We do not wish to get into arguments with any of our neighbours and allies, we do not recommend our own methods and recipes. Criticism against our system has recently intensified from the part of certain of our neighbours. We are not happy over this, our view is that the tensions arising from this do not benefit either the Hungarian state, or the criticizing country, or the region', Mr Horn stressed in his speech in Diosgyor on Friday.

Nemeth on Regional Security, Troop Withdrawals

LD1109213189 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 11 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth gave an interview to MTI on the occasion of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Central Committee initiative on intensifying regional security being made public on Friday.

"I far-reachingly agree with the content and intentions of the initiative," the prime minister stressed, "both as the addressee of the proposals, the chairman of government, and also as a member of the HSWP Central Committee. I stress this latter, as this is not always the case with all decisions made by the body." As the most recent example of such disagreement, the prime minister mentioned the issue of the presence of the party organizations in the workplaces when he agreed with the minority in the Central Committee and voted for withdrawal from the workplaces.

"I believe that the security-building proposal can organically fit into the national defence strategy which the government is preparing and is to shortly discuss. The creation of a security zone can further improve Hungarian-Austrian and Hungarian-Yugoslav good neighbourly relations," Mr Nemeth said.

The prime minister noted that many Hungarian initiatives have been made with respect to security policy, not only with military policy but also in other areas. Mr Nemeth mentioned the initiation of new economic-commercial forms, including the creation of free trade zones, the coordination of environmental protection issues, including the creation of common nature protection areas, and the development of cultural, tourism and border zone turnover. It is welcome that the government of the Soviet Union is a constructive and cooperating partner in these issues, the prime minister said. At the same time, there are difficulties with Czechoslovakia, but it is considered they can be bridged over and the

Hungarian Government is making every effort towards that end. Unfortunately, the initiative for genuine talks has not yielded success with Romania.

In answer to the question that the Hungarian Government's foreign policy is criticized from inside, as its steps elicit attacks from the neighbouring socialist countries, Mr Nemeth replied:

"In my view, the efforts of the Hungarian Government to increase foreign policy independence meet with the full agreement of the Hungarian public. However, groups appear both from the extreme left and the extreme right which have different views. The extreme right believes that what we are doing is not enough and, not considering the country's geo-political situation, demands steps from us that would isolate us and bring us into opposition with the neighbouring peoples. The extreme left, on the other hand, identifies with the criticism made by the leaderships of certain socialist countries against the Hungarian Government to vent their own internal political tensions. These extremes do not serve the interests of the Hungarian people," Mr Nemeth said.

Mr Nemeth went on to note: "It is our fundamental goal to place Hungarian security policy into the European conventional power balance. For Hungarian security simply cannot be discussed in a nuclear war.

"On this basis, it is possible to considerably reduce the army force, and to create a defence force that is of a better quality, which mainly relies on the professional staff. In this conception, the Soviet land forces currently stationed here—three divisions—are not needed. Thus the full withdrawal of Soviet troops cannot be the object of political pressure. From the home political aspect, this depends on the switch to the new defence strategy and from the foreign political aspect on the development of the European balance of power, the elimination of the military blocs. In other words, it is certain to be a process of several years.

"The tasks of national defence should be determined within the government and the state organization. This means placing the national character into prominence in the army, and also provides a constitutional guarantee that the Armed Forces support the peaceful character of the democratic transition. The army is already progressing on this road with such reform measures as the elimination of direct party direction, the introduction of alternative military service, and the increase in publicity," said Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Party Officials Speak at Trilateral Talks

LD0809202689 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Medium-level trilateral political interest coordination talks opened on Friday in Budapest with the presentation of the Hungarian regional security policy initiative of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee. The proposal was set forth by Imre Pozsgay, leader of the HSWP delegation. Istvan Darvasi, spokesman of the third side, agreed with the proposal, while Istvan Gasko, on the part of the opposition roundtable, said they would examine the initiative.

In the following, Jozsef Csikos (HSWP) reported on the work of the committee dealing with publicity. He said a consensus was reached for television to deal with the talks once a week, and also that the medium-level talks be held before the widest publicity. At the same time, there is no agreement with respect to the publicity to be given to the work of the committees. According to the HSWP, the publicity of the experts' activity can be solved with the once weekly transmission of television. On behalf of the opposition roundtable, Miklos Haraszti said the opposition would like for the press to follow with attention the activity of the sub-committees as well.

Press, Broadcasting, Discussed

LD0809230989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] Erno Kardos reports on today's debate at the national roundtable:

[Kardos] The new press law under preparation will declare the prohibition of censorship and the freedom of information and expression. The only limit which can be given to the latter is if someone commits a crime with their publication, or injures others' personal rights. It is necessary to acknowledge the obligation to reply, and the work of journalists must be supported at all public political events. All the negotiating delegations at the national roundtable agreed with the above. So, they agreed that the press law now under preparation must be brought into harmony with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

At the trilateral political coordination talks, they also accepted the rehabilitation of the 39 journalists who had been expelled from the Journalists' Association for their political views.

The Interior Ministry is to hand back to the opposition copies of the previously persecuted press publications, and also the printing machines. The participants from the opposition roundtable welcomed this, but drew the attention of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's [MSZMP] negotiating delegation to the fact that Interior Ministry had for a long time not been keeping the promises it made earlier. Furthermore, the view was spreading that they had already destroyed the prohibited papers.

Imre Pozsgay promised that the MSZMP's negotiating delegation would mediate in the affair.

No agreement was reached on the fate of county papers. The MSZMP continues to consider this as its own asset. The opposition proposed that independent papers operating in the provinces should be given support from the

government for the period of the elections, so that the equality of chances should be asserted in information dissemination too. The subject will be discussed further.

They accepted by consensus the formation of a committee in which independent experts will supervise that MTI, the radio, and the television will accept every party as a political organization of equal rank, and ensure the appropriate openness for them up to the time of the adoption of the press law.

Television was also on the agenda. Miklos Haraszti even urged the replacement of the chairman in the interests of the opposition really obtaining the necessary and needed airtime. According to a survey by Elemer Hankiss, the MSZMP gets 96 percent of the main programs, and only the rest goes to the opposition.

Imre Pozsgay asked Miklos Haraszti to withdraw his proposal because, according to him, there can be no calling to account of an agreement which has not yet been made.

Finally, they took into consideration the opposition getting twice 30 minutes on the television, and also acknowledged the importance of a series being started which would introduce how democracy really works.

Information Policy Set

LD0909165189 Budapest MTI in English 1511 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 9 (MTI)—The three sides to the medium level political talks have reached a consensus on setting up a commitee of unbiased information, which would monitor the work of the national mass media. The five-member committee affiliated to the government will include generally respected experts in information.

Concerning the county dailies published by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the opposition roundtable considers it a pressing task to eliminate the party's monopoly. The HSWP, however, insists that a paper can only be handed over by its founders so decision-making on the county dailies falls within its own competence.

Consensus was reached on some basic principles of the press law. It was agreed that the new law should comply with the freedom of expression laid down in the Constitution, ban censorship, and declare that everyone should be granted access to all information of public interest. The three sides agreed that the sub-committee should continue elaborating the basic principles of the law.

The next round of the political talks on Monday (11 September) will survey the pending issues of the amendment to the constitution. The HSWP would like to accelerate work so that a plenary session be convened on September 18.

National Defense Council Proposed

LD1109214889 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 11 (MTI)—As reported, the medium- level political coordination talks continued in parliament building on Monday. The delegation of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] was led by Imre Pozsgay, of the opposition roundtable by Gabor Horn, the third side by Imre Nagy. The presiding chairman of the session was Zoltan Gal (HSWP).

A consensus was reached at Monday's talks on establishing the institution of president of the republic. However, there is still no agreement with respect to how—referendum or by parliament, and when the election of the president should take place and the length of term.

A consensus is emerging between the three sides in establishing a national Defence Council. The body would decide on the use of Armed Forces and the police during the state of emergency and on the introduction of special measures determined in a separate law. There is agreement that the council should include the president of the republic, the speaker of parliament, the chairman and members of government, one member of all parties represented in parliament, and representatives of the military leadership, including the chief-of- staff of the Hungarian People's Army.

As no agreement was reached on setting up the constitutional court, further discussions are to be held at the next session.

Debate continues between the sides which respect to the affiliation of the state security organization in constitutional regulation of the Armed Forces and the police. According to the HSWP and the third side, it should belong to the police, while the opposition roundtable considers it should be subordinated to the Council of Ministers, as an independent organization. Discussion of the issue was transferred back to the expert's committee.

There was agreement in principle on that party membership of members of the police and the Armed Forces does not require settlement by the constitution but a measure of constitutional force. The issue is to be further discussed when negotiating the law on parties.

The proposal of the opposition roundtable, that the workers' militia be dissolved without a legal successor, is also to be debated later.

The next medium-level session is to be held in the parliament building on Friday. If the debated issues are settled, the plenary session will be summoned for September 18.

New Bill To Ease Travel Restriction

LD0709142189 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—A new bill relating to emigration, immigration and travel abroad is to further lessen restrictions on Hungarians' travelling rights.

Following the lifting of almost all restrictions on travel at the beginning of 1988, the number of passports issued to Hungarian citizens was 3.6 million last year, and 1.6 million in the first half of 1989.

The new bill declares travelling abroad a citizen's right with passports issued automatically.

The emigration and immigration bill is based on the principle of the citizen's right to freely choose his residence. Hungarian citizens living abroad may also register their emigration at any Hungarian Embassy.

Foreign citizens, however, will still have to apply for permission to emigrate to Hungary.

Gyor-Sopron First Secretary Resigns

LD0609104189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] The first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Committee in Gyor-Sopron County has resigned. In his statement to Gyor radio late last night, Laszlo Lakatos gave as the reason for his decision the fact that he sees no hope that at the party congress the party center will assume a leading position—a party center which he represents. The fact that the membership did not elect him as a congress delegate has also played a role. What is more, the local organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] had begun a process for his recall as a National Assembly deputy. The MDF cell's petition has the signatures of more than 10 percent of the electorate.

Dr Laszlo Lakatos will remain in his post until the party conference following the congress. After 26 years, he will be returning to factory work.

Opposition Daily To Be Published in Szeged

AU0509092189

[Editorial report] Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 31 August on page 5 carries a 600-word interview with lawyer Istvan Baba, the future founder of a first opposition daily to be published in Szeged, by a correspondent identified as "Halasz," under the headline: "What Will the First Opposition Daily in the Provinces Be Like."

Asked the reason for embarking on such a difficult venture, Baba is quoted as saying that "there is also need for an opposition daily in Szeged, a cultivated and European-level daily, and not one that denigrates the regime and the MSZMP." According to Baba, he decided to set up an opposition daily when he joined the Smallholders' Party and saw that "the public should be informed about the program and positions of the party."

The daily will be published by a stock corporation set up for this purpose "with the contribution of foreign capital" and it will also engage in other printing activity. According to the Baba, the first issue will be published "before the elections."

No name of the future daily is mentioned during the interview.

Jan-Jul Economic Statistics Released

AU0809113289 Budapest MTI in English 1319 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, 7 Sep (MTI)—Industrial production during the first seven months of the year fell 0.4 per cent short of the correspondent figure for last year. (The survey covers industrial units with more than 50 employees.) The sectoral pattern of production did not change considerably.

Manafactured sales to domestic markets dropped by 1.1 per cent and exports, mainly hard-currency sales, increased by 4.1 per cent. The industrial workforce fell 3.5 per cent behind the previous year's. Construction industrial output increased by 6.5 per cent, parallel with a 4.7 per cent reduction in workforce.

Break in Sejm Session, Mazowiecki 'Unwell'

LD1209082989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0810 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, we have been relaying the Sejm session since 0900 and for 10 or so minutes we have an unscheduled and unannounced break. The break was requested by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki because he is unwell.

Right now I have just returned from the hall where crowds of journalists are waiting for information but there is none. All that is known is that the premier is very tired and I have heard that in the last few days he has been working 20 hours a day. Let us hope that this plenary meeting, which has been interrupted so suddenly and unexpectedly, will be resumed. Of course, doctors are present, as is any other assistance that may be required. If we have any more information we shall convey it to you.

Leaves for Electrocardiogram

LD1209100189 Warsaw PAP in English 0930 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12—During the break in delivering his expose, the premier walked on his own to an ambulance to undergo an electrocardiogram test, the Polish TV reported after resuming its live transmission from the Sejm following a short break.

The PM took a short walk in the Sejm compound.

'No Health Threats' Revealed

LD1209102989 Warsaw PAP in English 0936 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 12 - Following a nearly 50-minute break caused by faintness, Premier Mazowiecki resumed delivering his expose.

PAP has received a medical communique which states that while delivering a speech in the Sejm, the premier grew faint for a moment caused by fatigue. An electrocardiogram test revealed no health threats.

Mazowiecki Writes Malinowski on Janicki Candidacy

LD1209001289 Warsaw PAP in English 2317 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki addressed a letter to Roman Malinowski which reads in part:

Forming the government in an extremely difficult political and social situation I wish for it to achieve a wide social approval. Being guided by this motive I am of the opinion that a new man should be appointed to the post of vice-premier and minister of agriculture. This has nothing to do with my attitude to the person of the hitherto vice-premier and minister of agriculture Kazimeirz Olesiak whom I respect and think highly of, which I am ready to express in public. I declare the government's readiness for loyal and partner-like cooperation with him in matters of common interest to the government and the United Peasant Party.

The Sejm committee by a majority of one vote expressed itself against the candidate proposed by me. I acquainted myself with the protocol from the meeting. I was sorry to notice that Professor Czeslaw Janicki was examined in a biassed and even offensive manner, that in contrast to other committees the voting was ordered secret.

I cannot help having an impression that emotional reactions, not pertaining to the person or competence of the presented candidate, had decisive influence on the course and final result of the hearing.

Let me also remind that evaluation of the committee is of opinion-giving character, while the decision will be taken by the whole Sejm. Thus I intend to support the candidature of Professor Czeslaw Janicki for the post of vice-premier and minister of agriculture.

Ludwiczak Replaces Malinowski as ZSL Chairman

LD1109163389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpts] In Warsaw the plenum of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] is holding a meeting devoted to the role of agriculture in the current socioeconomic situation. [passage omitted]

Roman Malinowski submitted his resignation from the post of chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee. It was accepted by the plenum. The election of a new chairman was held. Two candidates were put forward: Dominik Ludwiczak, a farmer from the Poznan Voivodship, and Czeslaw Jaworski, a farmer from the Ciechanow Voivodship. Both are deputy chairmen of the Supreme Committee.

A moment ago news came in that Dominik Ludwiczak won the election to the post of the new chairman.

Ludwiczak Biographical Details

LD1209001589 Warsaw PAP in English 2242 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—Dominik Ludwiczak was born in 1939 to a peasant family. He is a private farmer.

Ludwiczak joined the United Peasant Party [ZSL/UPP] in 1974. At the 8th UPP Congress chosen member of UPP Central Committee, since 1983 in the UPP Central Committee Presidium. At the 9th UPP Congress he was elected the UPP Central Committee vice-chairman, reelected to the post at the 10th Congress in 1988.

He was a deputy to the Sejm of the 9th term of office.

Active in cooperatives, people's councils, and farmers' circles. In the years 1980-1981 member of Farmers' Solidarnosc.

The 9th plenum of the UPP Central Committee appointed him chairman of the UPP Central Committee.

ZSL's Malinowski Presents Resignation

LD1209000589 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—Taking the floor during today's 9th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL/UPP] Roman Malinowski said in part:

In light of numerous attacks against the UPP, me personally, the UPP leadership and activists, on the part of various political and social forces, including the citizens' parliamentary floor group and Solidarnosc of Individual Farmers, I hereby recognize that for building a new quality of the peasant party and political unity of the peasant movement it is necessary to make personal decisions today—to make a change at the post of UPP Central Committee chairman.

Thus I turn to the UPP Central Committee to accept my resignation from the post of UPP chairman. At the same time I once again turn to UPP Central Committee and UPP floor group for full support of Premier Mazowiecki's government. This is in the interest of Poland.

I turn to you to rally around the new UPP Central Committee chairman to maintain the political unity of the peasant movement, for the benefit of Poland, the countryside, agriculture and peasants, for the benefit of transformations and reforms.

ZSL Plenum Accepts Resignations, Resolutions

LD1209003789 Warsaw PAP in English
2351 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—At its session here today the 9th Plenum of the United Peasant Party [ZSL/UPD] Central Committee resolved to call the 11th Extraordinary UPP Congress for January 10, 1990.

Upon resignation of Roman Malinowski from the UPP Central Committee chairman the plenum elected Dominik Ludwiczak to the post.

The plenum also accepted resignations of Kazimierz Fortuna and Bogdan Krolewski from members of the Presidium and Central Committee secretaries and of Boleslaw Struzek from member of the Central Committee Presidium.

Roman Malinowski remained in the composition of the UPP Central Committee.

Support for Mazowiecki's Government

At the beginning of the session the plenum heard the Central Committee Presidium report delivered by Roman Malinowski who stressed that the party is not only a participant in but also an initiator of reforms, now under way in Poland, contributing to them achievements of its own political thought and concrete proposals for solutions.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a known Catholic and Solidarnosc activist, an experienced and wise politician, won recognition not only in the Sejm but also in society as well as abroad, in the East and West. Thus a government of a broad coalition, of responsibility and national chance is being formed, Malinowski said.

Roman Malinowksi appealed to the Central Committee and to the UPP parliamentary floor group to fully support Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet as it is a government of Polish chance.

While participating in the parliamentary and government coalition, the UPP wants to and will act as a partner maintaining and strengthening its ideo-programmatic and political identity, its independence. Basing on such principles we want to and will cooperate with all political forces which will strive for restructuring of the country in a reliable and realistic manner, Malinowski stated.

Need of Strong Peasant Party

It is an imperative of the moment and a far-sighted wisdom to make the reviving peasant political movement unite all rural activists regardless of their background.

We are determined in the UPP to form an independent, qualitatively new, strong peasant party. The shape of our party will finally be defined at the 11th Extraordinary Congress, Malinowski underlined. It has to be prepared in an innovatory and open way.

At the end of his address Malinowski read Tadeusz Mazowiecki's letter in which the premier extensively discussed his stand on the candidature for vice-premier and agriculture minister. (We move the text separately).

UPP Plenum Resolutions

The plenum adopted a stand in which the UPP Central Committee approved the decisions taken by the UPP Central Committee Presidium and UPP caucus and stated that Kazimierz Olesiak is the sole and most competent UPP candidate for vice-premier and agriculture minister.

The plenum adopted two resolutions.

In the first one the plenum came out in favour of calling the 11th Extraordinary Congress of the UPP for January 10, 1990. The congress, the resolution reads, may turn into a congress of political rural movement.

The second resolution acknowledged Premier Mazowiecki's proposals on appointment to the post of vice-premier and minister of agriculture governed by the

desire, as it said, of agreement and coalition cooperation of all parliamentary forces and by the supreme state interest.

Sejm Committee Approves Two Candidates

LD1209020189 Warsaw PAP in English 2345 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—The Sejm Economic Policy, Budget and Finance Committee approved, with one abstention, the candidature of Marcin Swiecicki for minister of foreign economic relations and of Wladyslaw Baka for president of the Narodowy Bank Polski (National Bank of Poland).

Marcin Swiecicki recognized gradual, but quick achievement of the convertibility of the Zloty and uniform exchange rate of the Zloty and change in the character of trade relations with the CEMA countries as the key elements of his programme. Vital, according to Swiecicki, is also quick achievement of normalization of credit relations with the Western World. The candidate recognized as purposeful to renegotiate some trade agreements with the East as well as with the West which are unfavourable to Poland.

Marcin Swiecicki declared that in case he is appointed minister he will resign from the post of PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee secretary.

ZSL Adopts Stand on Agriculture Minister

LD1109232189 Warsaw PAP in English 1356 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—Roman Malinowski told today's plenum of the Central Committee [CC] of the United Peasant's Party [UPP] about a letter from Tadeusz Mazowiecki who justifies his decision to uphold the candidacy of Czeslaw Janicki, UPP, for vice-premier and minister of agriculture.

Following a discussion, the UPP CC adopted a stand on filling the post of vice-premier and minister of agriculture, saying that the only and most competent UPP candiate for this post is Kazimierz Olesiak.

"Olesiak guarantees appropriate implementation of the interests of the countryside and agriculture in the new government and enjoys general respect of the rural population including UPP members. Other candidates, not put forward by the UPP, do not guarantee that," the UPP CC emphasized.

Ludwiczak on 'Troublemakers' in ZSL

LD1109212389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Interview with Dominik Ludwiczak, new chairman of the United Peasant Party by unidentified correspondent, date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] The peasant movement at the moment is somewhat divided. What in your opinion is most important right now for the movement?

[Ludwiczak] I think that the most important thing at the moment for the movement is bringing about unification, and stopping of troublemaking work which is going on in the countryside. Apart from true activists who really want renewal—as that's what's needed in our peasant movement—in our party, there is a whole group of politicizers, troublemakers who want to get into power and gain some kind of authority or function on the backs of the peasants. That is my assessment as a peasant and I would severely warn peasants throughout Poland about this.

[Correspondent] Do you want to cooperate with PSL [Polish Peasant Party independent recently reactivated peasant movement] and Private Farmers Solidarity?

[Ludwiczak] I want to work with all the forces which will serve the Polish countryside, because I am concerned above all only with Poland, with the country.

Siwicki, Kiszczak Face Sejm Commissions

LD1109154389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] Florian Siwicki today stood before the [Sejm] National Defense Commission. The most difficult question presented to him was about his opinion of the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Florian Siwicki commanded the Polish units used in this operation. The general replied: I then fulfilled my obligations with conviction. I felt that I was acting correctly. Relations with NATO states were tense, the cold war was continuing. Apart from that, I was fulfilling the task set by the supreme party and state authorities, by Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz. I was convinced that by acting thus we would prevent a catastrophe. I tried to obey the order with dignity, not transgressing the rights of citizens. We all remembered that we would be living with this neighbor in the future. Now, states Florian Siwicki, I see that it was possible to act differently. The interference should not have taken place. I agree with the recently-passed Sejm statement on this matter.

Another general, Czeslaw Kiszczak, appeared before the Sejm National and Ethnic Minorities Commission. The examination was to have been led by Jacek Kuron, who chairs this commission. But he forsook the examination of Czeslaw Kiszczak, for he himself, as a candidate for minister of labor and social policy, had to subject himself to examination by another commission. Czeslaw Kiszczak was also asked about 1968—not about August, but about March. My attitude to those events is unambiguously negative, he said. These were excesses that compromised our country. I spoke of this then, at the Central Committee plenum.

The candidate for deputy premier and minister of internal affairs answered a question on national and ethnic minorities: In Poland there live 200,000 Polish citizens declaring their allegiance to the Ukrainian nationality; 180,000 to the Belorussian; 30,000 to the Czech and Slovak; 15,000 to the Jewish; 7,500 to the Lithuanian; 2,500 to the German. In Poland there are

also small groups of Russians, Spaniards, Bulgarians, Tatars, Palestinians, and Vietnamese.

[Begin Kiszczak recording] I feel that at the state level there should arise some institution that will concern itself with the problem of national minorities. We cannot simply pretend that this problem does not exist in Poland. It is not a great one, but it exists. [end recording]

OKP Caucus on Government Candidates

LD1109231989 Warsaw PAP in English
2206 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—The issue of three candidates for government members rejected by the Sejm committees dominated discussion at today's meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP). The caucus considered whether voting should be carried en bloc for the whole cabinet composition proposed by the premier or whether the questioned candidatures should undergo separate voting.

It creates not only some formal problems, but also political ones, stated OKP chairman deputy Bronislaw Geremek stressing that no solution must postpone voting on the composition of government.

Dominating was the view to present to the premier opinions on the issue voiced at today's OKP meeting, but at the same time to support Mazowiecki's all personal proposals.

Geremek said that also the premier came out in favour of voting for the whole composition and promised to refer to the disputed personal questions in his expose.

The meeting discussed also questions pertaining to OKP representatives' participation in the debate on the premier's expose as well as action with a view to working out methods and principles of cooperation of OKP, UPP [United Peasant Party] and DP [Democratic Party] parliamentary floor groups.

The deputies learnt also that Jacek Zakowski from the GAZETA WYBORCZA "SOLIDARNOSC" daily had been appointed OKP spokesman.

Democratic Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

LD1009100489 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 9—"We entered the field of direct political game from the out [as received]," this statement by Jan Bubienko from the Democratic Party [DP] Suwalki Voivodship Committee best characterizes the discussion at the DP CC [Central Committee] plenum held here today.

During its first meeting after the creation of the new parliamentary coalition, the DP CC defined the role of the party in this alliance, set the date of a referendum on the change of the party's name, discussed the assumptions of the future coalition agreement and heard a report on the results of work of the commission examining errors committed by the party's former authorities during the early stage of martial law.

In his address to the plenum, Chairman of the DP CC Jerzy Jozwiak stated that there was a growing conviction that Poland was capable of coming out of the humiliating crisis only by way of democratic reforms. Poland was driven into this crisis by glaring political and economic mistakes made by the former ruling teams based on non-democratic, hegemonic system of governing. Parliamentary democracy and free economy based on on market mechanism should be the only regulator and way of the state's functioning. The acceptance of Lech Walesa's offer by the Democratic Party is a logical consequence of the strategy of political activity of the party, particularly that approved by the DP's 14th Congress.

Jerzy Jozwiak took a stance on accusations concerning the DP's departure from the former coalition:

"I answer the polemicists from the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] authorities and press that the construction of the new coalition is fully concordant with the process of democratisation and pluralism, of the reforms originated by the round table decisions. After last June's elections, which ended in a landslide victory of the "Solidarnosc", it became clear that the government that would be formed, if it wanted to count on the support of the majority of Polish society, had to be based on the "Solidarnosc". This is clear also to those more enlightened politicians and supporters of reforms and democratisation in the PUWP," Jozwiak said.

Recalling the PUWP's attitude to the DP over the decades, Jozwiak stated in his conclusion that the coalition principles had not been observed even at the round table where frequently decisions were taken without the participation of the Democratic Party and the United Peasant's Party [UPP].

Referring to the process of the forming of a new government, the DP CC chairman stated that it was not simple or free of controversies and tensions. It will still require the approval of the Sejm. The concensus achieved does not fully satisfy the DP despite the fact that it is the first time that the DP will be represented in the government by a vice-premier coordinating the entire superstructure.

Concluding his statement, the DP CC chairman said: "We are for urgent self-government elections so as to expand the result of the system's democratization in the spirit of the new coalition onto the entire Poland."

"The historic turn in the DP, our entering the new coalition was not any revelation, but a reflection of views of the DP," stated Bogdan Banas in the discussion.

Stanislaw Suchodolski from Opole considered the limiting of the DP's initiatives by the PUWP as the cause of the party's lack of effectiveness in the former tri-partitie alignment. "Not only were our party colleagues chosen

for responsible posts without consulting the DP authorities, but also leaders of our party were elected for us," said Deputy Chairman of the DP CC Jozef Musiol.

Chairman of the DP parliamentary floor group Jan Janowski stated that "joining the coalition, the DP risked much more than others. We are not loved in this coalition by all. We listen to bitter remarks about the role which the party played in the former authorities."

Speaking about his participation in the new government, Janowski stressed that the following general principle should be binding in the parliament: A representative of any of the parliamentary floor groups, who is appointed to a government post must suspend his mandate for the period of fulfilling his function.

The plenum set the date of a referendum among the DP members on the change of the party's name from "Democratic Party" to "Polish Democratic Party" for October 9-22, 1989.

In its resolution, the Central Committee accepted the directions of activities and decisions of the Presidium, Secretariat and the chairman aiming at the creation of the new coalition. The CC also stated that a tri-partite agreement between the "Solidarnosc", DP and UPP should be a formal condition for the proper functioning of the coalition.

The CP CC expressed indignation over the tone and contents of accusations addressed to the Democratic Party by the PUWP CC and included in its stand of August 19, 1989. The resolution welcomed with satisfaction electing a "Solidarnosc" representative as Poland's prime minister and assured of its support for reform-oriented decisions of the government. The DP CC charged the Presidium with the task of organising a national forum of democrats.

Democratic Party Floor Group Meets

LD1109232389 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept, 11—Our stand towards Tuesday's Sejm expose of the premier should include a declaration of support for the government, which will have to take unpopular decisions, such was the opinion of the majority of speakers taking part in today's meeting of the Democratic Party DP floor group. The legacy left to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government consists mainly of debts and problems, stressed DP deputies.

The meeting was attended by DP CC [Central Committee] Chairman Jerzy Jozwiak. Chairman of the DP floor group, Deputy Jan Janowski told PAP: Our floor group, excluding three of our colleagues, will support the premier's proposals.

The group also discussed the principles of cooperation with the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and with the United Peasants' party floor group.

The DP floor group decided to submit a motion to annul a joint resolution of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers establishing the worker-peasant inspection.

OPZZ Stance on Sociopolitical Situation

AU1109130689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "OPZZ Executive Committee Stance on Sociopolitical Situation"]

[Text] At its 7 September meeting in Warsaw, the Executive Committee of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] adopted the following stance on the country's sociopolitical situation:

A jump in prices, coupled with goods shortages, speculation, and a further decline into poverty for Polish families, is a feature of August and September. Despite our warnings, the so-called market operation has been carried out in a voluntaristic manner, with no preparations whatsoever. This is the culmination of all the mistakes made by the previous economic leadership of the country. All the time, the authorities are passively watching a development of events that will inevitably lead to another outburst of social protest, which will encounter our support. Therefore we ask the extraordinary Sejm commission to call to account the persons responsible for these decisions.

In society's view, our country's situation and the steadily deteriorating standard of living of our families are the result of faulty decisions by the economic and political leadership. That is why the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership is ceasing to be the political guarantee of working people's interests. We consider Alfred Miodowicz' resignation from the PZPR Politburo entirely justified.

The OPZZ Executive Committee will actively support social movements aimed at creating a broad front to unite all working people in counteracting all forms of social injustice, exploitation, betrayal, and squandering of the national wealth. There is room in this front for all those who treasure the ideals of freedom, democracy, social justice, and humanitarianism.

More and more people are being touched by tiredness, determination, and an increasing feeling of dissatisfaction. The OPZZ Executive Committee demands that the political forces that form part of the new government realize that the government's primary task is to curb the impoverishment of our families. We believe the most urgent tasks are:

—Partial compensation for the skyrocketing prices by means of regular financial bonuses to suit the level of food price increases. According to the current level of prices, this bonus should be at least Z40,000;

—A full monthly index-linking of wages until such time as the wage barriers are abolished;

—An abolition of the barriers preventing increases in wages;

—Activity designed to curb the skyrocketing price increases, especially prices of food, and guarantee broad access to basic goods and services;

—The urgent passing of a law governing supplies for pensioners and their families, in accordance with the concept worked out by the OPZZ;

—An adjustment of the value of social benefits in accordance with the idea adopted at the "roundtable";

—An immediate amendment of the Factory Social Fund and Housing Act, following consultations with the OPZZ;

—The abolition of various kinds of companies that are not based on capital, which act as middlemen between producers and consumers, and which force the prices of products manufactured by the state sector to go up;

—The adoption of equal taxation and equal access to credits for all sectors of our economy.

Jaruzelski Receives Mazowiecki, Expresses Approval

LD0809180189 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 8—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki who briefed him on the outcome of his talks with leaderships of political parties, social and professional organizations and associations, and on the proposed composition of the Council of Ministers that has come as a result of those talks.

The president voiced his approval for prime ministers moves striving to form a government of a broad coalition. He also expressed hope that such a government would be able to implement the program of socio-economic reforms satisfying the needs of the nation and the state.

Jaruzelski 'Enormously' Favors Premier's Efforts

LD1109151889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has enormously approved Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's efforts in the Sejm to create a government representing a wide coalition of forces, said Wlodzimierz Lozinski, the president's press spokesman, at a press conference. He expressed hope that the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government will be able to implement a program of socioeconomic reforms corresponding to the needs of the nation and the state. The spokesman also replied to questions relating to the functioning of the President's Office. It is still being created and details of its functions will be prepared by Michal Janiszewski, who will be its head after leaving the function of head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, when the new government is formed.

PZPR Deputies Quiz Kiszczak, Siwicki

AU1109132689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep pp 1, 2

[Report by Andrzej Miklaszewicz: "Ministerial Candidates at the PZPR Deputies Club"]

[Text] "So far, during our talks no doubts have been expressed about the PZPR heading two ministries: the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense. The premier proposed that General Czeslaw Kiszczak head the first ministry and that he should also be entrusted with the post of vice premier with responsibility for coordinating internal and external security. The premier proposed that General Florian Siwicki head the second ministry."

Marian Orzechowski, head of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club, announced this yesterday [7 September] afternoon as he opened the first half of a club meeting with the two party candidates for posts in the government.

General Czeslaw Kiszczak told the deputies that as vice premier he would coordinate the work of the ministries dealing with security and defense, and that the day-to-day running of the Ministry of Internal Affairs would be the responsibility of a secretary of state.

He then described his aims with respect to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

C. Kiszczak said that the ministry "must adapt to the political changes that are taking place in the country." In light of this, the Ministry of Internal Affairs Third Department, which deals with the superstructure in a broad sense, and the Fourth Department, which deals with religious organizations, are to be disbanded. In addition, the Fifth and Sixth Departments and the Research Bureau must be reorganized.

The candidate for the office of minister said that once the reorgnization is completed only three departments will remain in operation: those for the defense of the Constitution, the defense of the national economy, and research and analysis.

He went on to say: "I will appeal to deputies not to disband the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens Militia [ORMO]. This is an organization that is useful for many tasks, such as security during visits by representatives of foreign states, and expenditure on the organization is modest. The projected cost for this year is Z670 million. This is a trifling amount when set against the number of tasks performed by the ORMO. If the ORMO is disbanded, the commander in chief of the Citizens' Militia will ask for the creation of an additional 20,000 to 30,000 posts."

As for the Motorized Reserve of Citizens Militia [ZOMO], General C. Kiszczak recalled that every country has a unit of this kind. Italy has the carabinieri, France has the gendarmerie (about 100,000 persons), and the United States has the National Guard. He said: "The character of ZOMO operations is changing in light of the legalization of the opposition, the introduction of a law on political parties and a liberal law on assembly. However, there is always the danger of hooliganism, such a danger exists at every scoccer match."

Describing further moves, the candidate for the office of minister, announced that he would disband the unit that inspects correspondence, and the counterintelligence service whose task is to establish the whereabouts of radio transmitters used by spies. The general deemed both these units anachronistic.

The general promised to scale down to a minimum the technical department that engages in eavesdropping and clandestine photography.

The military detachments that come under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be reduced. This applies to the Border Guard, which will be used to strengthen the manning of border crossing-points, and the military construction group will enlarge these points.

One of the PZPR deputies asked General C. Kiszczak why these reorganization steps had not been taken earlier.

His reply was: "Foreign intelligence services did not keep us informed about the new technology that they were introducing. It took us a long time to uncover microdots concealed in postmarks and stamps. Agents equipped with computer technology or rapid telecommunications apparatus had to be unlucky before we could know about them."

It was charged that the ministry headed by Comrade Kiszczak had been using outdated equipment for many years.

The candidate for the post of minister of internal affairs replied that "we have units that possess high quality equipment, such as the Criminology Department at the headquarters of the Citizens Militia. However, I do not exclude the possibility that there are militia stations where only two out of six automobiles are running. We could ask for more automobiles, but we know what the situation in the country is like. Automobiles have to be sold in order to reduce the quantity of money that is in circulation. Perhaps it is not a good thing if the head of the ministry is a person who is also guided by state interests...."

Asked what influence he would wield in Mazowiecki's government, he replied: "I do not know. I will seek to be as loyal as possible. My sense of honor as an officer would not allow me to assume this post if I were to think differently. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government represents a cause for all Poles. The failure of his mission would be a serious tragedy for our country."

Describing his aims as head of the Ministry of National Defense, General Florian Siwicki said: "In the period up to the end of June we reduced the number of troops by 11,000 and withdrew a significant quantity of basic weaponry. We will commence the next stage in the restructuring of the Armed Forces in the October, November period. The number of troops will be reduced by a further 22,000.

"Reductions in weapons procurement produce the greatest savings. We reduced expenditure for such purposes by a further Z53 billion in May and June. We obtained several tens of billions through selling equipment that had been withdrawn from use. Altogether, the burden on state budget expenditure has been reduced by almost Z100 billion."

General F. Siwicki discussed proposals to reduce the length of military service (Deputy Marian Czerwinski said that he believed that it would be possible to reduce the length of service to as little as 1 year). The candidate replied that "we have never been against this, but analyses indicate that it will not be possible to reduce the length of service until 1991.

"The number of persons eligible for conscription is increasing at the present time, and this makes it possible to select troops who are more highly qualified. It might become possible to introduce an 18-month period of service. However, this requires appropriate budget resources, because it involves an increase in the number of military specialists who are trained and the greater use of equipment."

In response to charges directed at civil defense units, General F. Siwicki said: "With respect to those civil defense units in which conscripts perform alternative service, one should consider the extent to which it benefits the economy to remove an employee from one place, organize units, and then transfer the employee to employment in another place. I propose a radical reduction in such units; their reduction to a minimum.

"As far as workplace civil defense units are concerned, for several years now, their main task has been to prepare for the provision of assistance when catastrophes occur, and this does not apply solely to war. However, old habits are making themselves felt. We are aware of this, and we will try to change the functioning of civil defense units."

Asked whether basic service should be replaced by professional voluntary service, he replied: "The professional voluntary form of service is the most effective, but it costs a lot. In 1987, the United States spent $79 billion solely on equipping such an army."

Asked whether Soviet military units will remain in Poland, he replied: "The distribution of Warsaw Pact

forces stems from the need to provide a counterweight to NATO forces. As the political and military alliances move closer toward one another, there will undoubtedly be a reduction in the number of such units. I can envisage the completion of the current round of negotiations in Vienna even resulting in the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces, but this cannot happen at the expense of state security."

Asked if the military would be depoliticized, General Florian Siwicki replied: "The premier also put this question to me, but in a somewhat different form. He asked me if I could envisage the Armed Forces becoming a national institution. I replied that our Armed Forces have always been a national institution. We, the military, should always have the national interest in mind, like the PZPR. As for the presence of the United Peasant Party and other organizations in the Armed Forces, these are decisions that will have to be taken at various levels."

Questions were to be put to candidates for the posts of minister of communications, minister of transportation, and minister of economic cooperation with foreign countriesc during the second part of the meeting, which was scheduled to take place late afternoon. No decisions were reached on the question of who would head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Radio and Television Affairs Committee.

After the interval, the club meeting was continued behind closed doors.

GAZETA WYBORCZA Interviews Kiszczak

LD1109083189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate for deputy premier and head of the Internal Affairs Ministry, has said in reply to a question from GAZETA WYBORCZA that a coup [przewrot] which would overturn the political changes that have taken place in Poland is impossible without the participation of the Defense and Internal Affairs Ministries. Czeslaw Kiszczak added that under the current staffing of these ministries such action is precluded.

In the view of the papers interlocutor, the greatest danger for democratic transformations in Poland is posed by those who dream of leading people out onto the streets. There are activists on botn sides for whom such a turn of events would be desirable. I believe in the wisdom of society, but am aware of its tiredness with daily difficulties, Czeslaw Kiswzczak stressed. An improvement in the economic situation, including lowering the high inflation is the political task of the day. I believe that the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be up to this. This is in the interests of everyone, irrespective of political views and organizational allegiance, Czeslaw Kiszczak said in an interview with GAZETA WYBORCZA. [passage omitted]

Orzechowski Appeals for Political Harmony

AU1109124689 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9-10 Sep pp 1, 2

[Article by Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club: "In My View"]

[Text] This coming Tuesday [12 September] we shall at last have a new government. The parliamentary deputies and the rest of society will then be able to judge the appropriateness of the new cabinet's policy programs. Economic matters are at the center of special expectations and hopes. The enormous difficulties of everyday life that millions of Poles face, and the conviction that it is the economic sphere that in the next few months will decide the stability and durability of the new political order—an order that was created with the nomination of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the position of the chairman of the Council of Ministers—make this attention understandable.

The novelty of the political situation stems primarily from the fact that the hitherto parliamentary opposition has taken the major part of the responsibility for matters of state upon its own shoulders. It has total control of the Senate. Through a coalition with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD], it has also secured for itself a substantial majority in the Sejm. Having invited the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] into the government it has made possible the creation of a broad, or, if one wants, a grand coalition government. The party will not now move into opposition. We shall be governing together.

Joint government does not just mean the alliance of the ZSL and SD with what is widely understood as "Solidarity." It is also an alliance with my own party, the PZPR. Yes, I am absolutely serious as I write these words. Unless of course one wants to have two rival governments, the one within the other.

Joint government means joint responsibility and cooperation among partners on all its levels. The order of the day has to be, common sense, moderation, self-discipline, and a mutual readiness to cooperate without reservation and the opening up of past wounds. This could become the beginning of the arduous, but vitally necessary process of national reconciliation. Of course the opposite may happen. We must not waste this historic opportunity.

That is the reason I am making this appeal to all those who may be interested. Let us open a new chapter in the political life of our country! Let us stop dividing that which is jointly ours into yours, and mine. Let us together save Poland from the crisis. Let us begin to respect our differences in a civilized way. It is high time that we mutually ceased to frighten, accuse, and taunt each other. That implies everywhere; in party meetings, in factories, from the pulpit, in the shop queues, and in parliament. It is high time to end this constant skirmishing in the papers, radio, and television. We have to

agree on clear, constructive, and lasting rules that will govern the relationships between all parliamentary forces and political movements. Rules that will be subsequently adhered to by all. We have to normalize relations between "Solidarity" and the National Trade Union Confederation and establish them on the basis of cooperation between partners. One cannot continue to ignore a trade union confederation that has a membership of seven million working people. One has to take into effect the existing realities by accepting the value of each and every one, as well as learning mutual respect for each other.

All that I have said will be extremely difficult. It is made all the more difficult because each one of the parties and political forces is in the intensifying grip of a fundamental internal reevaluation—none of us knows where this process may ultimately lead. Nevertheless, there is no other sensible and rational way. Poland and the Poles can no longer afford destructive political conflicts. Preserving our personal identities and our arguments, we must at the same time learn to coexist in a dignified manner, and cooperate constructively. We must do this in the name of all that which is important to us, namely, in the name of the essential interests of the working people and the future of our fatherland—the only one we have, and are ever likely to have.

Solidarity Deputies Discuss Government

AU1109165389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Sep 89 p 2

[Report signed "A.M": "Question to the Premier From the Citizens' Parliamentary Club"]

[Text] At 18.30 yesterday [7 September] the Citizens' Parliamentary Club held a meeting that was attended by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting, which was closed to the press, discussed the composition of the government.

The journalists waiting in the corridor already had a full list of government members, and the list's reliability was later confirmed by a well-informed source. The list of proposed government members—the list has to be approved by the Sejm—appears on page 1. There are only a few additional remarks that should be made on the basis of yesterday's meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

The post of secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been reserved for the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The justice portfolio finally went to the United Peasant Party [ZSL], but the under secretary of state is to be designated by the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, and he is to be Adam Strzembosz. A secretary of state who will prepare a reform of local self-government will be appointed to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning and Construction.

The premier has decided not to appoint someone with ministerial rank to head the Office of Religious Affairs. The head of this department will hold the rank of director. The premier has also announced that he will close down voivodship level offices of religious affairs.

The posts of minister of foreign economic cooperation and president of the Central Planning Office were not filled yesterday, and the question of who will head the Radio and Television Affairs Committee still remains a contentious issue. Talks on these issue were still going on during the night of Thursday through Friday [7 through 8 September].

No one was nominated minister in charge of the new Ministry of Communications.

On several occasions during the Citizens' Parliamentary Club meeting, T. Mazowiecki stressed that the principle of making appropriate ministers also deputy premiers is fundamental for the new government. This emphasis was important in that members of Private Farmers' "Solidarity" have been loudly voicing their dissatisfaction. They had already called for significant representation in the new government, and set up a separate farming section within the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, and for a time it seemed as if there was a danger that they would form a separate faction.

This danger is all the more pertinent today. It was proposed to Private Farmers' "Solidarity" that they put forward a candidate for the post of minister without portfolio who would coordinate the work of other ministries with regard to the countryside and that he should also hold a post of under secretary of state in the Industry Ministry with responsibility for the production of agricultural factors of production. However, this proposal was deemed too modest and was rejected.

Yesterday this led to arguments within the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. The ZSL was attacked and given the blame for current agricultural policy, and indignation was expressed at the fact that the same party would continue the new agricultural policy.

The premier explained that the whole coalition would disintegrate with the appointment of another deputy premier from Private Farmers' "Solidarity," and that the government that had been formed from the coalition would fall part.

He was supported by other Citizens' Parliamentary Club members who maintained that political realities should be borne in mind and that emotions should not be allowed to gain the upper hand. Political realities indicate that the ZSL is the strongest element in the government coalition after the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. Senator Zofia Kuratowska observed that the support for the government that Private Farmers' "Solidarity" has expressed does not mean much without participation in the government.

Members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club expressed fears about whether the president was not setting up his own power structure, one that is parallel to that of the

government. The premier allayed these fears and said that the rumors were unfounded. The president intended to appoint another minister of state, but one that is to come from the ranks of the opposition.

A question was asked about "Solidarity" under secretaries of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense. The premier replied that he saw the question of these ministries in terms of a process that can be initiated by the establishment of political councils within both the ministries. In his opinion, this would be the first step toward transferring these ministries to the state.

The premier also said that he did not expect voivodes to offer to step down or wait to be confirmed in their posts. The work of individual voivodes would be assessed by the secretary of state for local administration, and what the premier now wants is an end to the period of uncertainty and for work to proceed normally. T. Mazowiecki recalled that his guiding principles would be competence and loyalty.

The post of under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade is to be reserved for the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

These were some of the views that were expressed shortly after the meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club ended.

Deputy Grazyna Staniszewska: "A sound bloc of economic appointments."

Senator Karol Modzelewski: "I can understand why Private Farmers' 'Soldarity' feels that it has received a worse deal than the ZSL, and this may give rise to friction. However, what matters most is the deal that the farmers have got."

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj: "The present economic team represents a strong liberal current. I myself do not go along with that, but it is a good thing that it is headed by a very competent person, that is, Prof Balcerowicz."

Lech Walesa Discusses Recent FRG Visit

LD1209023489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Text] At the now-traditional meeting after the Sunday service at the church of St Bridget, Lech Walesa spoke of his journey to the FRG.

[Begin Walesa recording] It is unbelievable how far behind we are. It is unbelievable how far we have been left behind. It is improbable that we can get there on our own. In association with this, I spoke everywhere about how Europe is one; that we must arrange this Europe anew; that there were those who tried to arrange Europe by force, with tanks—we know them—and there were those who tried to arrange a beautiful world for us with ideology. They have arranged it for us so that if they stood still for 50 years, we still would not catch up. We will have to work hard; that is how it is in the world. That is why we still stretch out our hands, but not for charity—we said that right away—not for charity. We must take new technologies; we must make new cooperation agreements; we must get down to work together, and Europe will be one. You love Gdansk; we love Bonn and other places, too. We will travel: you here, we there. Europe is one, so let us work together. I have 16 enterprises from our voivoda which are ready for cooperation in our voivodship. For all 16, I have two willing enterprises from the FRG. They can undertake work right away, on an equal footing, with no funny business, with no selling-off of Poland, for I also hear such voices. Yes, I am selling, and to whom, yes. No selling off! There really are new conditions now, a new age, and one Europe. I saw this from above, from the plane, really one Europe. [end recording]

Daily Comments on Visit

AU1109115689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Sep 89 p 8

[Commentary by Daniel Lulinski, TRYBUNA LUDU Bonn correspondent: "Experience on the Rhine"]

[Text] What are the results of the 4-day visit to the Federal Republic? That was a question put to the chairman of "Solidarity" at news conferences in Dusseldorf and Bonn.

Walesa knew that his not always very accurate but usually colorful invitations to invest in Poland had not brought about any concrete commitments from the Federal Government and its economists.

A change of government and the appointment of Lech Walesa's confidant as premier did not change in the least bit the federal government's reluctance to render Poland economic and financial aid. In fact, industrial and financial circles represented by the influential FRG Commission for Eastern Economies displayed an unexpectedly cold attitude toward such aid, especially aid for investments. It is difficult to understand why. Such a cold stance was made plain during the chairman of this commission's talk with L. Walesa.

No wonder Lech Walesa provided various assessments of his talks, depending on their results. He said he liked most of all his talks with the German Trade Union Federation DGB, whose guest he was. He was quite happy with his exchange of views with politicians. However, he seemed disappointed with talks on economic contacts.

Perhaps Lech Walesa did not choose his delegation too carefully. They were new to this kind of scene. Not only economic officials, but also numerous press commentators said that there were no speakers or experts capable of telling the German side exactly what kind of economic plans "Solidarity" and the milieus from which the present Polish Government chief stems have in mind.

The German side considered the "Solidarity" chief's 16 proposals for joint ventures with the FRG too superficial and insubstantial.

The $10 billion which "Solidarity" and the Citizens Parliamentary Club claim are necessary in order to heal the Polish economy caused heated discussion. It ought to be stressed that Walesa himself made it clear on several occasions that he had not come to the FRG to beg for billions of dollars worth of credits, but merely to indicate the real chances of investment and cooperation that exist in Poland.

It is good that the "Solidarity" chairman extended his political contacts in the FRG; consolidated and expanded cooperation with the influential DGB; and created a higher quality of contacts with the Social Democratic Party (SPD). There is no doubt that all this increased Walesa's room for maneuvering vis-a-vis conservative circles, such as the CDU [Christian Democratic Union].

It ought to be stressed that Walesa earned the support of those FRG social and political forces who have for years been in favor of expanding relations with Poland on the basis of a recognition of the border on the Odra and Nysa rivers.

Walesa made it plain that the Polish border on the Odra and Nysa is a prerequisite for good-neighborly relations with the FRG. He said to Chancellor Kohl that in the FRG one can hear irresponsible pronouncements about border issues, pronouncements that do not suit the times we live in, apart from which the facts cannot be changed. In a report to the Ebert Foundation, Walesa dotted the "i" by saying that Poland is concerned about remarks in the FRG that express border revisionism, and said that such remarks cannot be reconciled with the aims of Europeans toward a form of cooperation that transcends bloc divisions.

Walesa Envisages Dissolution of Military Pacts

LD1109215589 Warsaw PAP in English
2036 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 11—"Solidarnosc" leader Lech Walesa staged a press conference here today.

"It is you who see the problems of Communists in Poland, answered Walesa to an American journalist's question, and you still picture them with knives between their teeth. Communists are not a problem in Poland, as you see it, but the nonsenses they have introduced. The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] may be helpful as it has many reformers."

Walesa rejected suggestions that existence of the "Solidarnosc" government and communist Army may provoke conflicts. "There is wisdom in the nation because communism has served us well as concerns wisdom and political practice. We will try to solve everything, though there will be different voices here and there, because they are bound to be—for political hygiene," he stressed.

Asked whether he can imagine Poland outside the Warsaw Treaty, Walesa said: "I think that (military) pacts are an increasingly funny thing, both NATO and Warsaw Treaty. The problem lies only in the time when they will be dissolved. Today no worker, either an American or a Polish one, wants to fight. It is really a waste of time and money. We proceed towards one Europe. And if there is nobody to fight against, everything (all pacts) will fall apart. Thus what should we now risk tousle [as received], danger for? It has to follow—Americans and Russians will do it."

Walesa came out in favour of an "Italian model" in which frequent changes of government do not disturb economic life. "Poles have no choice, he stated, they have to work better, and this government must only facilitate that, create conditions for initiative."

Lodz Trade Unionists Issue Protest Statement

LD0909161489 Warsaw PAP in English
1414 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Lodz, Sept. 8—Chairman of the factory organisations of the Federation of Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union of Light Industry sent to PAP a statement to protest against further aggravation of the situation facing Lodz agglomeration employees. The statement reads in part:

"The chaos, economic lawlessness and progressing poverty define the economic situation in September 1989. The price plunder taking place on the food market of Lodz since last August compels hundreds of thousands of employes of state enterprises and their families to forward a resolute protest.

It cannot be so any longer and we will not passively face everyday price hikes with a drop in supply at the same time. We demand:

1. Taking up resolute and perceivable actions in the sphere of supply of the Lodz shops first of all with foodstuffs.

2. Conducting such a supply policy so that the prices in the Lodz agglomeration were not the highest ones in Poland.

3. Proper use of the light industry products in trade negotiations with other industries and agglomerations.

4. Taking up by the Lodz People's Council active measures for the election of the Lodz mayor and a total reorganisation of the structure and personnel of state administration in Lodz.

Baka Presents Views on Banking System

LD1109220189 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] parliamentary floor group spoke today in recommendation of Wladyslaw Baka who is proposed by Poland's president to the post of president of Narodowy Bank Polski (National Bank of Poland NBP).

Baka presented to the caucus his vision of the economic policy and banking system. He said that the most important question at the moment was to curb the inflation. The point is to reach such a state of economy where the growth of incomes stops surpassing the growth of prices, he said.

He said that the road to settle income and price problems led through the annulment of the law on indexation and the working out of new indexation rules together with the introduction of a progressive income tax. It will also concern incomes of other sectors so that the costs of fighting the inflation are paid not only by employee groups, he said.

Baka came out in favour of the issue of bonds by the budget in a short time and for the creating of legal foundations for selling the national property. He stressed that the value of money and its significant role in the national economy.

In response to numerous questions Baka spoke in favour of the convertibility of the Polish zloty. My being NBP president is in no way linked with the question of the PUWP's debt. PUWP does not have any debt in NBP. The law on political parties should finally settle financial questions.

Baka said he did not see any possibility to raise the interests on hard currency accounts to attract the money kept at homes. He added that it is possible however for foreign banks to operate in Poland.

Bishops Statement on Convent in Auschwitz

AU1109110989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] The POLISH PRESS AGENCY has received the following statement by the Episcopal Commission for Dialogue with Judaism:

In connection with the recent difficulties surrounding the construction of a Center of Information, Education, Meetings, and Prayer and a new Carmelite convent in Oswiecim [Auschwitz], the Polish Episcopate's Commission for Dialogue with Judaism has this to say:

The Center of Information, Education, Meetings, and Prayer, together with the convent in Oswiecim were supposed to encourage dialogue between Christians and Jews, a dialogue which presupposes a respect for one's own identity, greater mutual acquaintance, and a desire to cooperate. During the implementation of this major project, difficulties, polemics, disputes, and violent protests have arisen. They are seriously threatening the very idea of the center.

In this situation, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, bishop of Krakow, has felt obliged to issue a statement, in which he says: "Attitudes and conduct like this make it impossible for me to go ahead with the construction of the center, for it is impossible to jointly construct a site of mutual respect unless one's own religious and national convictions are abandoned."

The Commission is convinced that Father Macharski's statement does not conflict with the stance of the 233d Episcopal Conference on 9 March 1989, and corresponds to the explanations contained in the article by Father Stanislaw Musial, secretary to the Commission, which appeared in the 29 May 1989 issue of the Polish Episcopate's "Circular Letter."

The conflict surrounding the Carmelite convent in Oswiecim has caused an almost complete break in Christian-Jewish dialogue in the world. A reestablishment of this dialogue does not seem possible without a solution to this conflict,. All this confirms the urgent need to build this center. However, we regret to say that the idea of building this center has not encountered the necessary interest and understanding from the Jewish side. Jewish public opinion has merely seized on one fragment of the Geneva declaration—the idea that the monastery should be built elsewhere.

The unique significance of Oswiecim as a memorial to millions of innocent victims obliges us to use all possible resources in order to remove the existing tension and misunderstanding. The Commission welcomes the statement by Jewish organizations in Poland about their readiness to take part in the work aimed at resolving the existing difficulties. For its part, the Commission expresses its readiness to cooperate with all people of good will in Poland and abroad.

A particular commitment to undertake this cooperation is encouraged by the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, involving Hitlerite Germany's criminal plan to exterminate the Jews and the Polish nation. In his letter marking the anniversary, Pope John Paul II said: "The planned barbarism to which the Jewish nation fell victim will always remain a disparagement to society."

In his letter to the Polish Episcopate's conference, John Paul II indicated the "need to seek paths to the future, which the church will undertake together with peoples of our century and the nations of Europe and the world." In answer to these words, the Commission says: Let us not allow matters that are difficult and painful, but nevertheless transitional, to obscure our just objective. Let feelings not triumph over reason. Also, let us not lose sight of the proper hierarchy of values. If, as adherents of the two religions which were combined by the one God's ancient plan of salvation, we sever contacts between us, we will cease to be God's reliable witnesses to the world, and we will have to answer to Him.

We trust that the commencement of talks in the spirit of the Geneva meetings, without any additional conditions, will permit the discovery of real possibilities of building the center, within which, in the words of the Geneva declaration, the "prayers of the Carmelite nuns will find a new place and a proper meaning."

New Ukrainian People's Front To Be Founded

AU1109142189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8-10 Sep p 7

[Article signed 'mt': "Kiev—Zero Hour"]

[Text] On Friday, the conference which has on its agenda the founding of the Ukrainian People's Front will begin in Kiev. It will be attended by about 1,000 representatives of various independent organizations. The organizers of the conference have invited a delegation from Poland composed of, among other people, Wlodzimierz Mokry, Adam Michnik, and Bogdan Borusiewicz, and this delegation will also take part in the debates.

This conference is the culmination of a recent chapter which has seen a vigorous development of Ukrainian social initiatives. Under the aegis of the existing Ukrainian Helsinki Association, there has recently been a rapid growth of so-called, "unofficial" organizations. The most numerous of these, the "Ukrainian Popular Movement for Perestroyka" has a membership of well over 250,000 people, which is drawn from its three sections of Lvov, Kiev, and Dnepropetrovsk, the last having only been formed 1 month ago. Recently, a new youth organization was formed, called: The Independent Association of Ukrainian Youth.

The influence that independent national movements can exert is clearly shown by last Tuesday's decision of the Kiev authorities to accept the Ukrainian language as an official state language. This decision of the conservative authorities was undoubtedly influenced by the fear that the emotions of the Ukrainian society could escalate.

Independent Ukrainian activists anticipate that after the formal creation of the People's Front—a front which is to be the platform of cooperation between all the "unofficial" organizations—the authorities will perceive this organization as a sufficiently strong partner, and the transformations in the Ukraine will become fact.

Foreign Ministry on Polish Doctor in Libya

LD0809131489 Warsaw PAP in English 1055 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 8—The Consular Department of the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry, referring to an article carried by GAZETA WYBORCZA on September 5 concerning the imprisonment of a Polish doctor in Libya made the following statement:

Doctor Krystyna K.B., on a contract in Libya, signed with "Polservice" foreign trade enterprise, was recognized by a local (Libyan) court as guilty of nonfulfilment of doctor's duties in connection with the death of a girl patient, and was sentenced to 9 months of imprisonment and 12 months of compulsory work (in a hospital without pay).

Poland's Embassy in Tripoli has rendered to her legal and consular assistance.

The Foreign Ministry has undertaken and is carrying on all necessary activities to assure the doctor's quickest return to Poland.

Deupty Minister Sees Closer Ties With Israel

TA1209081689 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Poland will announce its decision to maintain closer relations with Israel at a convention of East European countries next week in Poland. It will also support Israel in conventions attended by Arab states. This statement was made by the Polish deputy minister for transport, shipping, and communications to Yitzhaq Kaul, the director general of the Postal Authority, who is currently visiting Warsaw. The two men signed an agreement to launch an express mail service.

Ligachev's Berlin Trip 'Tied To' GDR Exodus

AU1209123089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has left on a working visit to the GDR. Ligachev's trip to Berlin is believed to be tied to the mass exodus of GDR citizens to the West.

TASS has offered full support to Berlin and has warned Bonn that it should treat the problem of the refugees seriously and responsibly. The news agency notes that the GDR is a member of the Warsaw Pact and a Soviet ally.

Further on LCY Central Committee Session

Brigic's Opening Address

LD1109180689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0501 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The contents of the ideopolitical bases of the amendments to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] statute have been directly influenced and also limited by various, even opposing, tendencies in social and party practice and the situation in the ideological sphere, which is characterized by pronounced differences and controversial ideological and theoretical views among the League of Communists [LC] ranks and society; and by the contents of potential directions for the transformation of the LC, said Ivan Brigic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, in his opening address at today's LCY Central Committee session at which proposals for the ideopolitical bases of the amendments to the LCY statute were discussed.

Due to various resistances to the changes in society, the ideopolitical platform for the LCY's activities in changing the political system and clear stances about political pluralism and the transformation of the LCY are emerging very slowly. All these things expand the grounds for various, and even completely opposing, attitudes toward the LC's social position, its models of organization, and activity, and toward the influence these bear on the generation and deepening of the social crisis.

One should keep in mind the fact that today the conservative conscience, according to which the LC should consolidate its position of a monolithic party and the highest arbiter in resolving clashes of interests in society, is very pronounced. It advocates the preservation of the traditional party concept, currently regarding it as the precondition for social reform rather than as an obstacle. On the other hand, awareness has recently been on the rise in the LCY that maintains that the LC crisis and the social crisis in its entirety can be overcome by a radical abandonment of a state party's model and by its replacement with a model of a modern democratic political organization, adjusted to the conditions of political pluralism and the competition of other political ideas and programs. Of course, the question remains of how to achieve and what is the content of the model of a modern democratic political organization that will be able to influence the clarification of the controversies and the deep social crisis that we are facing. The ideas are also pushed to their extremes, that it is impossible to undertake any reform of the LC and a divorce is needed from the party's model, created at the time of preparations for the revolution and during its armed phase, and a complete discontinuity in the features of the LC as a class and a vanguard political organization, Brigic said.

Various concepts of the directions for social reforms, and in this context, for the transformation of the LC as well, are at the heart of the clashes among the leaders and even among wider circles of the party grassroots. These clashes are an integral part and political expression of the restructuring of social forces, and they have a bearing on the very future and prospects of socialism and socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. Under such circumstances the weakening of the LC's integrative functions and the deepening of disunity and confrontations, which assume the form of conceptual disagreements and confrontations, are becoming a crucially limiting factor that blocks inevitable social changes. The outcome of these confrontations will depend, in the first place, on the LC's ability to articulate a well-founded and theoretically sound realistic program of society's development. The restoration of such an ability and the LC's historical initiative is, however, not possible without a deep democratic reform of the LC, one that would prevent the possibility of a return of the state party model and the practices of directives in social relations, something that may, for a longer period, stop the prospects of social development along modern developmental trends in the world.

Although the LC has a considerable amount of experience and theoretical knowledge about these issues, there still is not the necessary degree of unity nor is there political willingness, Brigic stressed, to, in line with this knowledge, form sound concepts and practical programs of the LC's transformation, and this particularly applies to its position in society, its relations to other political subjects, and its social basis. Pressed by the crisis and ill-perceived needs for society's survival, we are abandoning in practice, although without conceptual answers, the model of self-management as an integral system. And the LC clearly does not take sides on whether or not this leads to the abandonment of developing self-managing productive relations that imply workers' rights and potentials to manage the conditions and results of their work.

For all these reasons, it is not possible for the time being to precisely envisage statutory norms which will express the deep and inevitable changes in the LC's position, pending the economic reform and reform of the political system, Brigic stressed.

Explaining the proposal for the amendments to the LCY statute, the Presidium member went on to say that the commission has in fact found itself in a controversial situation, whereby it has worked on this before the

debate finished on the definition of the concept of the LCY's role in society and its transformation. [passage omitted]

Relying on the documents on the transformation of the LC and the LCY's program, the ideological bases for the statute proceed from the notion that the LC should be, Brigic stressed, a vanguard organization by its aspirations and results in practice rather than by its norms and reliance upon the mechanisms of power. Under the present circumstances, the a priori vanguard role of the LC is unsustainable, the one which would be based upon the ideological and political monopoly of a party in power and which would consequently be sanctioned by the norms of such a status. The vanguard role of the LC should include new contents, expressed above all by the ability to politically and programatically express the interests of the working class and those of all other creators of material and social values and to fight for new qualities of life and democratic identity. The main pivot in the work on the bases of the amendments to the LCY statute was the creation of statutory conditions for a more comprehensive development of democracy within the LCY, for consolidating responsibility, for greater unity in the LCY, for enhancing the role and initiatives of LC members and of the forms they create, and for facilitating free and flexible links and organizations in the whole LCY.

The basic LC organization should also in the future represent the basic form of organization and each member should be engaged in one of the basic LC organizations, Brigic added. But we are also advocating that LC members organize themselves on the grounds of their interests, act within the system, among workers, creators, and the young, and also include activities in various alliances and movements whose orientation and programs are not at odds with the LCY's programs and orientation. It is proposed that that Communists can organize themselves in temporary or permanent groups, linked by actions, interests, or projects, and that each LC member has the right to initiate organizations and associations of other members in line with their interests and to provide alternative proposals, views, and initiatives.

As far as the LC organizations in production are concerned and in view of the changes in production, we maintain that the LC should continue to engage itself in the sphere of material production, only not in the way of dealing with economy, business, and cadre policies, but of being directly concerned with a man at his work and with his existential problems, of removing all the bureaucratic and other obstacles which limit his influence on all spheres of social and political life, because this is the prime domain of the LC's struggle. The abandonment of an organized approach and activities by the LC in this sphere would deprive the LC of the basic contents of its activities and leave it without direct connections with the working class as its prime social basis. [passage omitted]

In the ideopolitical bases of the amendments to the LCY statute, we have proceeded from the stance, Brigic went on to say, that the LC fights against any kind of monopoly in society and even against its own, even its monopolistic position within the political system should be changed. By saying this, the LC does not dispense with its influence and interests in the functioning of the state and in the working-class character of power. That also means that the LC has an obligation to fight for its views, by respecting the principles of the state with the rule of law and democratic rules, in the competition of other ideas, programs, and political subjects to affirm its social legitimacy. [passage omitted]

In the case of political pluralism, which implies the equality of all political subjects—as this means an entirely different role and activities of the LC in the present conditions, and even more so in the future conditions of the development of Yugoslav society—the LC will also in these conditions fight for its leading ideopolitical role as an equal political subject and against etatist and bureaucratic monopolies. The LC's role in the system should no longer be derived from the self-proclamation of the LC in its program and statute but from its democratic position in social relations, keeping in mind the commitments that the constitutionally regulated leading role of the LC in society be abandoned in the work on the new SFRY constitution. [passage omitted]

Apart from working out the new functions of democratic centralism, which deal with its new contents, some of the mechanisms are to be improved to facilitate observance of statutory norms and the implementation of stances and conclusions, and also to prevent the abuse of the obligatory principle, regulate and guarantee more clearly the rights of those members who remained a minority after decisionmaking, sanction the duty of LC organs and LC organizations to consider under obligation, and not arbitrarily, initiatives for reconsidering and correcting decisions, and to determine the obligations of LC members and leaders to behave themselves democratically in other organizations, social institutions, and in public.

The expansion of the right of initiative can also be perceived in the introduction of the right of those LCY members, regardless of their level of organization, who have become a minority, to fight without disturbing the implementation of the majority's decision, for their stances in order to be accepted by the majority and to demand a review of a decision on the basis of new arguments, the more so if social practices have shown that the existing majority had not been right and that the results of the organization's activities are not satisfying. This solution does not represent the institutionalization of a minority, nor is it a commitment towards the formation of fractions but the introduction of dynamism in the process of the LC's political decisionmaking and activities. [passage omitted]

We see autonomy as an element of unity which expresses the rights, potentials, and obligations of the republican organizations to start initiatives, participate equally in

constituting the LCY's policy, democratic struggle of opinions, and in creating democratic synthesis. We regard unity in the LCY as as means for implementing its role of the integrative and leading ideopolitical force of Yugoslav society. The LC as a united organization is not a mere sum of its elements, which would only follow the logic of state federative organization, nor is it a centralist organization which would neglect different historical, economic and national, political and cultural conditions and features of the environments in which its integral parts operate. We maintain that it is of prime importance that the LCY statute establish and ensure democratic relations that enable the LCY to democratically achieve unity.

In fact, the aim is to firmly consolidate the obligation that the LCY's stances and policies be reached democratically because only a democratic way of conducting policies guarantee its unified implementation. On the other hand, by consolidating the LCY Central Committee's role and responsibility, it is proposed that at the LCY level the activities of the republican and provincial LC organizations and their organs at implementing the LCY's goals and policy be considered, controlled, and assessed. This means that on the basis of an insight into the joint assessments of a program of ideopolitical actions of the republican and provincial LC organizations, their corrections and adjustments to the LCY's unified political orientation can be demanded. We regard this method as an instrument for resolving the confrontations and divisions among individual parts of the LC and its leaderships.

The LCY's unity should be created on the basis of the existing general social agreement on the fundamental values of the Yugoslav community and socialism and on the shared interests of the workers, citizens, nations, and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In the opposite case, an artificial unity and the possibility of creating it artificially or by force would lead to the destruction of the LCY. The autonomy and particular features of the LCY's constituting parts cannot be a justification for negating the unified and all-Yugoslav character of the LCY nor can it be an alibi for ignoring or deviating from the LCY's democratically established policy. [passage omitted]

With regard to the organization of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, the commission proposes, he went on, a model of organization which should make the LCY's supreme organ more accountable and more effective. The majority opinion in the commission is that the LCY Central Committee should have an executive organ whose basic function is to ensure that the decisions and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee are implemented, and not turn itself into an independent political organ. Political decisionmaking would thereby be more clearly delimited from execution of policy and the individual and collective responsibility for those functions. Such an executive organ would have no ex-officio members, but all members would be elected to the LCY Central Committee. The work of the executive organ would be directed by a secretary with a 2-year mandate, with the possibility of reelection.

It is proposed that the LCY Central Committee should elect a president of the LCY Central Committee who would direct the work of the LCY Central Committee, which is in accordance with the guidelines on strengthening the role of the LCY Central Committee. Bearing in mind the importance of that function, the role and relation of the president of the LCY Central Committee with regard to the executive organ would be specially drawn up in the statute, as would the method of electing that president, a method which would ensure the democratic influence of the entire LCY.

On the basis of a critical review of the practice hitherto, it is considered that the 1-year mandate should be abandoned, and that a possible solution would be for the presidential mandate to last 2 years, with or without the possibility of reelection for a further 2 years. Alternative suggestions have been formulated on these matters.

In the debate in the commission and in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, it was particularly pointed out that the LCY Central Committee should elect an political executive and not an executive organ, and that its work should be directed by the president of the LCY Central Committee. The justification for such a proposal is that the introduction of an executive organ rather than a political executive organ of the LCY Central Committee would weaken the role and influence of the LCY organ, something which in the present critical situation might give rise to damaging political consequences.

Recalling that the commission had in its work maintained the standpoint whereby the concept of adherence to the statute—as one of the basic characteristics of the way in which the LCY is organized and functions—is in many respects analogous to the concept of constitutionality in a state based on the rule of law, Brigic conveyed the commission's advocacy of returning to the concept of adherence to the statute its historical and political dignity and that the firmly establishing adherence to the statute would be a vital principle of political practice at the LCY level and of all LC organs and organizations.

Emphasizing, in conclusion, that while the proposals were being drawn up confrontations and differences had emerged, Brigic said, which had made the work of the commission considerably more difficult, and thus had been able to only offer such transitional and half-way solutions.

Document on Interethnic Ties

LD1109231289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2158 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—The charge of Serbian nationalism against the committee of the League of Communists of the Serbian province of Vojvodina made by one of the speakers in the afternoon part of the

debate at today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which adopted a party document on interethnic relations, created quite a stir.

The Central Committee adopted the document on interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, a topic debated by the highest body of the Yugoslav party at its last session.

The Central Committee also defended Central Committee Presidency member Ivica Racan of Croatia, who submitted an introductory report at the last session, and some other participants in the debate at that session, who were subsequently harshly criticised by the public and the press in the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Vojvodina for their allegedly unjustified criticism of Serbian nationalism.

Appearing as guest at today's session, Celestin Sardelic of Croatia, criticized the attacks as dogmatic and Stalinist and also accused the Vojvodina provincial committee of nationalism because it was supporting alleged nationalism of the Serbian population in the Republic of Croatia.

After ensuing polemic exchanges, the Central Committee said (?that) party leaderships of Croatia and Vojvodina, as well as the Yugoslav party Presidency should debate the matter.

At the end of the session, the Central Committee accepted with regret a resignation by young Central Committee member from Bosnia-Herzegovina Zdravko Grebo who said that he decided to quit the party body because he was dissatisfied with the (?result) of its work.

Session Ends

LD1109225789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2024 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee session ended late last night [11 September] with the adoption of the proposed ideo-political grounds for changing and amending the LCY statute. Prior to this, the LCY Central Committee adopted the resignation of Dr Zdravko Grebo from the LCY Central Committee.

Slovenes Reject Discussion of Amendments

LD1109213289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia categorically repudiates the SFRY Presidency's intention to discuss some solutions to the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution at one of its forthcoming sessions. The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia believes that a discussion on the content of the proposed amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia by the SFRY Presidency, without Slovene initiation and agreement, would set a precedent, both from the point of view of the realization of constitutional authority of the SFRY Presidency and of the existing practice of political relations within the federation.

The letter, sent by Janez Stanovnik to the SFRY Presidency on behalf of the Slovenian Presidency, notes that at its 68th session, held on 7 September, the Slovenian Presidency considered a report on a working text of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution prepared by competent departments of the SFRY Presidency. At the same time, it was informed about the intention of the SFRY Presidency to discuss the material at its session scheduled for 15 September, which will be attended by presidents of the presidencies of republics and autonomous provinces.

The letter from the Slovenian Presidency stresses that the Slovenian Presidency considered the report carefully and concluded that the report is a political assessment of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution. It does not contain professional or legal arguments. Assessments that the adoption of the proposed solutions would "sunder the consistency of the constitutional and legal system in the SFRY" and that this "could have negative effects on functioning of the federation, safeguarding of the single Yugoslav market and integrity of the SFRY," are groundless and absurd. Such assessments, according to the Slovenian Presidency, could not provide a basis for a decision to discuss the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution at a session of the SFRY Presidency.

Such material does not provide a basis for a discussion, and if a discussion is held, it would be harmful. It would exert unacceptable pressure on the assembly of the SR of Slovenia and its constitutional commission in the final phase of the adoption of the changes to the Slovenian Constitution.

The letter from the Slovenian Presidency to the SFRY Presidency stresses that the Slovenian Presidency is prepared to participate in a session of the SFRY Presidency, which would discuss an objective, professional and comparative analysis of constitutional solutions in the constitutions of the republics and provinces, as well as in the SFRY Constitution. Such a discussion, as stressed, would be beneficial, above all from the point of view of assessing the degree to which new constitutional solutions contribute to the revival of the political system in the SFRY.

The Slovenian Presidency informs the SFRY Presidency that it will send the views on the report regarding the working text of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution prepared by competent departments of the SFRY Presidency to the Slovenian Assembly Commission for Constitutional Issues, which will meet 12-13 September.

Serbia's Trifunovic Addresses Beocin Factory

LD0909145889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1104 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—We have properly understood the sharp, straightforward criticism by

many of our citizens. We must divorce ourselves from policies never implemented; from leaderships which have lost our trust, which have no know-how, or reputation; and from a system in which it is possible to survive despite shoddy work and shirking responsibility. This was stressed today by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, at a ceremony to mark the 50th anniversary of Beocin cement factory. People's criticism of and their dissatisfaction with the fact that, in Yugoslavia and in socialism, we have failed to achieve considerably more, also carry the message that their voice and support will go only to those who are for socialism and a federal Yugoslavia, for bold economic and democratic changes, for a life based on work in a democratic country of free, equal, and fraternal nations and nationalities, Trifunovic said. [passage omitted]

The ceremony in the factory's courtyard was also attended by Jugoslav Kostic, president of Vojvodina Presidency; Branko Kljajic, president of the Vojvodina Assembly; Stanko Radmilovic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee; Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee; and representatives of Novi Sad and Beocin.

Having noted that there were few collectives in the country which could mark such a jubilee anniversary or which could boast such a long labor movement tradition, or prewar labor movement activity and self-managment practice since 1950, Trifunovic went on to stress that the working people and citizens of Vojvodina were resolute in their condemnation and rejection of the policies of excessive autonomy and bureaucratism of the previous leadership in the province. According to him, that was a dangerous and damaging policy aimed at separating the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina from a republic whose integral part it has always been, at cutting economic and cultural links between the two and encouraging conflict and mistrust. This policy has greatly damaged not just Vojvodina and Serbia, but Yugoslavia as well. The nations and nationalities of Vojvodina have made great contributions to adopting the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to the efforts to build unity within the republic. Restored unity in the republic and strong support by the people for economic and democratic reforms are the most important guarantees that we shall succeed.

Having stressed that no one would be allowed to disrupt unity in Serbia or to hamper efforts to resolve speedily the serious economic and other problems, Bogdan Trifunovic went on to say that these problems were numerous: enormous inflation; economic difficulties; the situation in agriculture, education and the health service; social differences; the difficult situation in Kosovo and the fact that the standard of living for many families has fallen below those befitting human beings. Relations between nationalities have worsened; there is growing dissatisfaction caused by the feeling that neither state nor political organs in Yugoslavia have been doing what is necessary to resolve the most serious problems. People are therefore justified to ask when an anti-inflation program will be adopted, when the situation will improve, when galloping inflation will be restrained.

According to the President of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, Bogdan Trifunovic, the Serbian League of Communists had realized that it had to place itself in the forefront of the efforts to resolve people's livelihood problems in an efficient, democratic, and modern way. We have put forward comprehensive proposals and directions for changes in the economic and political system; and we shall continue to advocate a radical economic reform. The response to and support for a loan for financing Serbia's economic development are evidence of our courage in relying on our own resources.

Political unity in Vojvodina and throughout Serbia must be enhanced and reflected in economic and business programs and links based on contemporary economic criteria. This will help to revitalize economic trends and give a chance to the "army" of unemployed young educated people. However, Trifunovic said, the brunt of the reforms must be borne by all, but more so by those who have more. On the other hand, an economic reform is possible, provided there is democratization in the political system. We wish to strengthen the position of man as a citizen; to introduce direct elections with multiple candidates, and an independent judiciary; to strengthen the rule of law and to heighten responsibility in order to transform the LC.

All socialist forces in the country have the duty to improve intranational relations and to defend the integrity, unity, and federal character of Yugoslavia. Unfounded attacks on the Socialist Republic of Serbia will not deter us from persevering in making proposals on ways of transforming Yugoslavia into a modern and efficient federation based on the equality for its nations and nationalities, but which has its necessary functions and is allowed to carry them out. We shall not accept any kind of calculations, proposals and behavior likely to bring this country a step further towards being a confederation.

Relations within the federation can be changed only through legal means and not unilaterally and unconstitutionally, Bogdan Trifunovic stressed in his speech at today's ceremony in Beocin cement factory.

Further on Address

AU1109085589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The oldest cement plant in our country, at Beocin, has marked its jubilee of 150 years of successful work and operations. The festive gathering was attended by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia; Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina; Jugoslav Kostic,

president of the Presidency of Vojvodina; and other prominent leaders. Grozdana Pasin reports from Radio Novi Sad. [passage omitted]

The workers council of the Beocin Cement Plant has decided to award its highest honor, a golden badge of the collective, to Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, for his building a unified Serbia, his comprehensive contribution to the republic and to Yugoslavia, and his exceptional striving for the development of brotherhood and unity. This award was presented at the festive gathering.

Expressing his thanks, Bogdan Trifunovic stressed that he considered the award to be an endorsement of the policy that is being conducted in Serbia, of the ideas and proposals, and of what is being done for getting out of the crisis and advancing social progress. The unity established in the republic and the strong support by the people for the economic and democratic reforms are the most important guarantees of our success, Bogdan Trifunovic stressed.

[Begin Trifunovic recording] The League of Communists of Serbia understands that it must be at the head of the process of the efficient, democratic, and modern solution of the most important problems that are vital for the broad masses of the people. We well understand the sharp criticism that many of our citizens voiced without beating about the bush. What is necessary is a break with a policy that is not being implemented; with leaderships that lack trust, knowledge, and prestige; and with a system in which one can keep one's position even when growth is poor and responsibility is being avoided.

This criticism and the dissatisfaction of the people because much has not been done in Yugoslavia under socialism, at the same time and above all, contains a message that their vote and support may be gained only by those who struggle for socialism and a federal Yugoslavia, for bold economic and democratic reforms, for making a living from work, and for a life in a democratic country of free, equal, and brotherly peoples and nationalities.

Our republic has presented comprehensive proposals and views on the changes in the economic and political system, in social policy, and in the development of health, education, and science. We are doing our best along these lines in the republic, and some good results have been achieved. Together with other republics in our federal community, we will persist in searching for the best common solutions for an efficient economy, a better life for people, and a stronger Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Stressing that nobody should be allowed to undermine unity in Serbia and to hamper the solving of grave economic and other problems, Bogdan Trifunovic particularly pointed out:

[Begin Trifunovic recording] Political unity in Vojvodina, and in Serbia in general, must be strengthened and confirmed through economic and business programs and links based on economic and modern foundations. This is the only way to revive the economic currents and to create a chance for the unemployed army of young educated people. The burden of the reform must be borne by all, but especially by those who possess more.

A program of social protection and an anti-inflation program must help the most deprived families to overcome the present difficulties. The economic reform can only be implemented if we democratize the political system at the same time. We advocate a stronger position of man as citizen, direct elections with several candidates, an independent judiciary, a strengthening of the rule of law and responsibility, and a transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

It is an obligation of all the socialist forces in this country to improve interethnic relations and to defend the integrity, unity, and the federal nature of Yugoslavia. [applause] Unfounded attacks on the Socialist Republic of Serbia will not make us waver in our proposals which would make Yugoslavia a modern and efficient federation, based on the equality of the peoples and nationalities, but possessing the necessary functions and being able to implement them. We believe that we cannot accept any calculations, proposals, or conduct that would push this country another step toward a confederation. [applause]

The relations in the federation can be changed only in a legitimate way and with legitimate methods, but not unilaterally or in an unconstitutional manner. [end recording]

Bogdan Trifunovic then spoke about the work before the 14th extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and stressed that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia can exist and act successfully only as a unified organization. This unity cannot be a mere declaration, but must exist in programs and organization.

[Begin Trifunovic recording] The League of Communists of Serbia is aware that without unity, little can be done along the socialist and democratic road of reform. The basis is the unity which we have won in our republic and which we display in the solving of the great problems of the present time, so that people may enjoy a better life.

The elections that we will have this fall offer us an opportunity through a democratic procedure to elect people who possess the knowledge, the prestige, the will, and the persistence to solve these problems. [end recording]

Congratulating the collective on this worthy jubilee, Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of Vojvodina, said on behalf of the provincial organs and organizations:

[Begin Kostic recording] Let this cement plant be a symbol and convey a message to all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia that we should be cemented in brotherhood and unity, and therefore we justly expect from the forthcoming congresses and conferences of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that they will bring an end to the quarrels and will unite us, so that we will carry on with what has distinguished this socialist nonaligned self-managing Yugoslavia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Government Stand on Anti-Inflation Measures

AU1109094189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 89 p 5

[R. Petrovic report: "Instead of a New Program, the Federal Executive Council Will Propose Measures of Anti-Inflationary Nature"]

[Text] The Federal Executive Council will not draft any new anti-inflation program, and no freeze measures are envisaged, since such a move would be a step away from the reforms already started. Instead, in the course of this month, the federal government will present the SFRY Assembly with measures of an anti-inflationary nature, considering that the Federal Executive Council is not just starting its work now, but intends to strike the main blow at the tremendously high rate of inflation on the basis of its activities through the past few months.

This in short is the essence of the Federal Executive Council's stand at the working meeting that Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly, and the presidents of the two Assembly chambers held with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and Aleksandar Mitrovic, its vice president. It was devoted to the September assembly sessions. In addition, they discussed the measures that the Federal Executive Council is preparing in the sphere of farming, as a sort of reply to the "peasant meeting" in Belgrade and the increasing dissatisfaction among the farmers all over the country.

Immediately to Concrete Decisions

The Assembly representatives were informed that all the matters contained in the papers on current economic policy measures in the field of farming have been made operational; they are to reach the Yugoslav assembly shortly and will be submitted to regular procedure. It is expected that some of these measures could be discussed in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on 5 October. It was particularly pointed out that specific decisions in this chamber are reached by consensus of all the republican and provincial delegations, which also should be taken into consideration in the forecasts of when changes in this field will finally be embarked upon.

The meeting yesterday opened the second half of this year's political activities in the SFRY Assembly, and according to what was said, a rather hot and uncertain fall is coming after the summer recess. The evidence is provided by the discussion about the first session of the Federal Chamber which was planned for 21 September, but it was decided to set the date later after an arrangement with the chairmen of the working bodies of this assembly chamber.

Before the summer recess, it was agreed that the subject of the excessive Yugoslav inflation be broached at the session of the Federal Chamber on 21 September, and a heap of working papers, analyses, and reports was therefore requested from the Federal Executive Council, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and the Social Accounting Service. It was also envisaged that all the materials should enter the procedure as of 10 September, but Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, yesterday asked for a week's postponement. In addition, he did not agree with the title of the subject but proposed that one should discuss the implementation of economic policy, the present situation and the results achieved, and anti-inflationary policy measures.

"We want to make a move not only with analyses and reports but with all the measures in operational order. We wish that when these questions are discussed, one should immediately take specific decisions. I expect that the discussions will contain many general matters of principle, but we would like to have any views immediately accompanied by concrete decisions," Mitrovic said, and the Assembly president reacted at once.

Postponing the Session Is Not Popular

In his opinion, postponing the session of the Federal Chamber that was to discuss inflation is not really popular, considering the public feelings and the rate of the inflation. In addition, he referred to the request by League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium:

"I do not possess the authentic text of the requests by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, but I do possess a statement which says that it is indispensable that the SFRY Assembly should adopt an anti-inflationary program. It is clear that the Chamber session will not close the case of inflation, but one should also take these points into consideration," Gligorijevic said.

Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, did not agree with such an approach by the president of the SFRY Assembly, and reacted by saying that "the Federal Executive Council is not starting its work now."

"The Federal Executive Council is bound only by the decisions of the Assembly, and the request mentioned by Gligorijevic is not a stance by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee. We will face the delegates only with complete and comprehensive materials, and we will not appear with partial solutions any longer. All the proposals of changes and decisions that have to be adopted will be presented at the same time, so

that the stands of principle may not conflict with specific decisions," Markovic said. He pointed out that good materials are a prerequisite for adopting good and efficacious decisions. In his opinion, "it is incomparably more important to prepare decisions of high quality, and the date at which the session is held is quite irrelevant."

As another reason for postponing the session, Markovic mentioned the fact that time is needed for consultations with the executive councils of the republics and provinces, so that the indispensable consensus may be reached even at this stage.

"Without a policy consensus, nobody has ever mastered inflation, and I ask you not to insist on the date."

Although the final decision will be taken after talks among the chairmen of the working bodies of the Federal Chamber, one could notice the feeling in favor of meeting the government's request, but the matters must be made quite clear and one must clearly state what the government will offer to the delegates after the delay.

As a peculiar item of interest during the meeting yesterday, we report the dialogue between the president of the SFRY Assembly and Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council.

Reacting to the requests by Federal Executive Council representatives to postpone the Federal Chamber session, Gligorijevic remarked:

"The anti-inflation program is not demanded for the session of 21 September."

"But we want to present it, not as a program, but as measures of an anti-inflationary nature," Mitrovic replied.

It can therefore be expected that the September session of the Federal Chamber will very specifically begin clearing up the Yugoslav priority problem, inflation. At least the federal government is making promises to this effect.